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THE JOURNAL

OF

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NOTES ON THE ONTOLOGY OF THE PHILEBUS.

At p. 14 c. Socrates sets aside as commonplace (*δεδημευμένα*), and now generally admitted to be not worth meddling with, two forms of the paradox of the identity of the One and the Many, viz.:

(*α*) The identification of One sensible particular thing with the plurality of its qualitative determinations

(*ὅταν τις ἐμὲ φῇ Πρώταρχον, ἕνα γεγονότα φύσει, πολλοὺς εἶναι πάλιν κ.τ.λ.*).

(*β*) The identification of some one particular *organism* with the plurality of its organic parts

(*ὅταν τις ἑκάστου τὰ μέλη τε καὶ ἄλλα μέρη διελὼν τῷ λόγῳ πάντα ταῦτα τὸ ἓν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι διομολογησάμενος κ.τ.λ.*).

Of more serious value, he tells us (15 a.), is a third form of the paradox: viz., briefly stated, the identification of a genus, or generic form, or universal (Man, Ox, the Beautiful, the Good) with its plurality of particulars.

The serious and much-debated question, or pair of questions, is (*a*) Are there such monads really?
and (*b*) If so, how can each such generic form be conceived as distributed among its particulars? Is it present entire in each of them, or is it broken up and fragmentarily present in its several particulars?

The solution offered in the 'Philebus,' 16 c. sq., a solution new then, now old, is that in *every one* of these generic ἰδέαι or ἑνάδες, which we must assume as that in each case which makes particulars what they are, we have to distinguish *first* its two or three or more species or varieties, and *only then* admit and recognise the *indefinite aggregate* of participant particulars;—or, as Plato expresses it, we must *first*, as regards each original generic form (τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἓν), note not merely the fact that it is at once one and several and countless (μὴ ὅτι ἓν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄπειρά ἐστι μόνον), but also *how many* it is (ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπόσα), i.e. of how many species it consists; and not bring in the idea of infinity, indefinite multitude of particulars, until we have thus duly noted the full number (of species in the genus) intermediate between the one (cosmic type) and the indefinite (infinite) multitude or mass of things (τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀπείρου ἰδέαν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μὴ προσφέρειν πρὶν ἄν τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ πάντα κατίδῃ τὸν μεταξὺ τοῦ ἀπείρου τε καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς).

So far the doctrine does not differ materially from the doctrine of (e.g.) the 'Sophistes.' But the Ontology of the 'Philebus,' without ever contradicting, goes beyond that of the 'Sophistes' and the 'Politicus,' and still more beyond that of the 'Phaedo' and the 'Republic.'

Part of the additional matter is *implicit*,—underlying, but not set forth or *expressly* assumed in any part of, the dialogue.

Other part is *explicit* and constitutes the fabric of about one quarter of the dialogue (23 c.—31 b., 59 d.—67 c.).

The *explicit* doctrine has been admirably summarised by Dr Jackson (Jo. Philol. No. 20); and I shall therefore only state certain points in it which have a special interest for the purpose of this paper, accepting, for the rest, the summary just mentioned.

Every one of the ἰδέαι aforesaid—of the ἑνάδες, that is, or generic concepts asserted at 16 c.—is constituted by the combination of a mathematical ἓν, or limitant unity, with some sort of indefinite plurality (τὸ ἄπειρον). This is but part of a larger fact.

All things that exist (*πάντα τὰ νῦν ὄντα*) are either combinations of some *πέρας* with some *ἄπειρον*, or species of one or other of these constituents. In other words everything in the universe, whether physical or transcendental, may be classified under three, or rather under four, heads. Everything is either (1) a limitant, a *πέρας ἔχον*, or (2) some *ἄπειρον* or other, or (3) a specimen of the products of the union of a limitant with some *ἄπειρον*,—or (4) an efficient cause of such union (*αἰτία τῆς ξυμμίξεως*).

For after distinguishing *three* elemental classes (*γένη* or *εἴδη*: terms which Plato here uses interchangeably and with no technical reference), namely *πέρας ἔχον*, *τὸ ἄπειρον*, and *τὸ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν—ξυμμισγόμενον*, Plato adds, as if by way of afterthought, a *τέταρτον γένος* (23 d.) as requisite in order to the production of things of the third class out of the first and the second, which (so he implies) cannot be conceived as brought into combination except by operation of an *αἰτία* other than themselves.

Of 'the unlimited' (*τὸ ἄπειρον*) there are, says Plato, many varieties. It, in other words, is itself, in a way (*τρόπον τινὰ*), *ἓν καὶ πολλά*. It occurs, that is, in various different forms.

This is illustrated in 24 a.—25 a., and again in 25 c.

Species, or varieties, of *τὸ ἄπειρον*, of that which admits 'more and less,' are (i) hot and cold, (ii) dry and wet, (iii) much and little (in quantity), (iv) fast and slow, (v) great and small, (vi) high-toned and low-toned.

The correlative adjectives are indeed all comparatives in the Greek; but are perhaps best represented by positive correlatives in English.

Anyway, as Peiper observes, Plato is here true to fact, at least as regards things physical. 'Quidquid enim sumimus, primum [in eo] aliquid *infiniti* invenimus aut secundum extensionem in spatio aut secundum intensitatem, velut caloris, duritiei—aut secundum qualitatem et variationem in serie aliqua perceptionis, velut sonorum, colorum—aut secundum motionem et mutationem, qua res ex uno ad alterum gradum sive extensionis sive intensitatis sive qualitatis continuo procedere animadvertimus' (Ontologia Platonica, p. 89).

Is the limitant (*τὸ πέρας*) likewise multiform? On this question there has been some controversy. Plato's language on the point is, at a first glance, self-contradictory. On the one hand in 25 c. he speaks of 'the offspring of limit' (*τὴν—τοῦ πέρατος γένναν*) in distinct comparison and contrast (*αὖ*) with the species of *τὸ ἄπειρον* just enumerated. And as at 25 a. he had instanced (*α*) *τὸ ἴσον κ. ἰσότητα*, (*β*) *τὸ διπλάσιον*, and, whether as a third instance or in completion of the second, *πᾶν ὅ τί περ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ᾗ πρὸς μέτρον* as, at any rate, examples of *τὸ πέρας*, it might seem indisputable that he intends *τὸ πέρας* to be, like *τὸ ἄπειρον*, regarded as *ἓν καὶ πολλά*.

On the other hand he nowhere distinctly states that it is *ἓν κ. πολλὰ*, and in 26 d., *if the vulgate is right*, he emphatically observes that, so far as had appeared from our previous investigation, it 'had not many kinds' (*οὔτε πολλὰ εἶχεν, κ.τ.λ.*). Nearly every editor indeed asserts, or suspects, that the text of this sentence is corrupt: and so at first, guided by so weighty a consensus, I believed. But on closer study of the words, I believe the text to be sound. Socrates in response to Protarchus' confession that the nature of the 'third class' (the *μικτὸν*) is not very clear to him, has just said that doubtless Protarchus is dazed by the *multitude*—and so prevented from seeing the *oneness*—of that order of things. 'And yet' (he goes on to say) the unlimited also presented many (and not merely a few) generic varieties (*πολλά γε—γένη*), but for all that appeared before us duly stamped with the unifying class-term of 'the more and less' (*ὅμως δ' ἐπισφραγισθέντα τῷ τοῦ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐναντίου γένει ἓν ἐφάνη*). When then in his next remark (*καὶ μὴν κ.τ.λ.*) Socrates says of *πέρας* that it *οὐ—πολλὰ εἶχεν*, we may assume, I think, (*a*) that *γένη* is to be understood; (*b*) that *πολλὰ* means, as in the previous sentence, '*many*'—not a few: in other words, that Plato means to tell us that 'the limitant' has *not many* (but comparatively few) *kinds*: a statement which, as I hope to shew, is consonant with the rest of his teaching in the 'Philebus' and is at any rate something very different from that which the editors, justly, refuse to attribute to him here. 'Then again,' in effect says the

Platonic Socrates, if this interpretation of πολλὰ in 26 d. is correct, 'look at our friend the Limitant: *it* did not have *many* species, as the Unlimited had, and we made no fuss at all about recognising its natural unity, did we?' This being admitted, the inference is obvious. 'You recognised,' says Socrates, 'the unity of τὸ ἄπειρον through all its numerous kinds and, more easily of course, the unity of the Limitant in its, comparatively very few, kinds. Why, then, boggle over the third class, the μικτὸν, which, you must take note, is simply the issue of the union of limitants (mathematical proportions, or measures) with one or other of the many varieties of the Unlimited?' The limitant, on this shewing, while not represented as homogeneous and altogether incapable of generic partition, is, on the other hand, here (26 d.) described as, unlike τὸ ἄπειρον, *not* emphatically multiform.

And even if the foregoing defence and explanation of 26 d. be not accepted, it remains a fact that Plato nowhere expressly declares that the Limitant is a ἓν καὶ πολλά. It is true that he appears to imply as much in the difficult and keenly controverted passage 25 d., where (although the text is perhaps not absolutely indefensible) the transposition[1] proposed by Dr Jackson in 1877, and adopted by Mr Bury, affords a simple and, as I believe, a sufficient solution of the chief difficulty, the occurrence of ἐκείνη (palpably meaning ἡ τοῦ μικτοῦ φύσις) immediately before ποίαν, which must refer to τὴν—τοῦ πέρατος γένναν. But in view of the suspicions attaching to the passage, we cannot safely use it in proof of an otherwise doubtful conclusion; and *at most*, the unification (συναγωγὴ) of the offspring of πέρας is spoken of as a process which, if it has not been, ought to be attempted; and any recognition, hereby implied, of the multiformity of the Limitant is hypothetic rather than categorical. And, at all events, whatever be the right reading

[1] viz. of the words ἀλλ' ὅπως—κἀκείνη γενήσεται to the end of the next following response of Socrates Τὴν τοῦ ἴσου—ἀπεργάζεται. The more elaborate transposition, with excision of the words καθάπερ—περατοειδοῦς, proposed by Dr Jackson in 1882, appears to me to presuppose a corruption far less explicable than that which is implied by his earlier conjecture; while the difficulties which it is designed to remove, are, I think, soluble without so drastic a remedy.

or the right interpretation of this passage, there is nothing in it to traverse the view that Plato meant us to understand that τὸ πέρας ἔχον is not multiform in the same sense as is τὸ ἄπειρον.

The ἄπειρον is, if we may use, for brevity, a term not actually employed by Plato in the 'Philebus' or ever (so far as I know) about transcendental objects, πολυειδές; there are many species of it. The 'limitant,' he would (I think) tell us, is neither πολυειδὲς in that sense, nor yet strictly ὁμοειδές. If pressed, he would perhaps have explained that it occurs in a *few*, perhaps in five, varieties [corresponding to the five μαθήματα (the five sorts of mathematical quantity) of the 7th Book of the 'Republic'], i.e. arithmetical, geometric, stereometric, dynamical (or astronomical), and acoustic proportions or measures, with τὸ μέτριον either as an additional and higher concept or else as the anonymous universal concept comprehending the five. At any rate it is in this direction, I believe, that we must seek, if anywhere, the *plurality* of the offspring of πέρας, and not in the obviously endless series of arithmetical numbers or ratios, which Plato, I strongly suspect, was too wise and wary to regard as differing specifically one from another, or as constituting an ἓν ἐπὶ πολλῶν or ontological genus. Mere numbers (he would have said), and therefore bare ratios, produce one another by simple aggregation or agglutination, and *do not* differ as 'hotter and colder' (heat as heat) differs from (e.g.) 'high-toned and low-toned' (sound as sound). These differ specifically, though capable of συναγωγὴ into the generic concept of the 'more and less' (the unlimited). These (τὸ ἴσον, τὸ διπλάσιον, τὸ τριπλάσιον) do not so differ. The only 'specific' differences within the family of πέρας are (he would, I think, tell us) those indicated at 24 d. by the co-ordination of τὸ πόσον and τὸ μέτριον (as to which Dr Jackson has said much that is very valuable: Jo. Phil. No. 20, pp. 278 sq.), at 25 a. by the collocation ὅ τί περ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ᾖ πρὸς μέτρον, and at 25 e. by the collocation σύμμετρα καὶ σύμφωνα. Probably Plato had not made up his mind exactly how many kinds of proportion or measure are distinguishable, and any way he had no terminology available

for marking the distinctions; and this may account for the procrastination confessed, but (on any view of the text) never in this dialogue properly rectified, about the *συναγωγὴ* of the 'children of the Limit.'

Let us now return to the generic monads, or *ἑνάδες*, of 16 c. I have represented Plato as teaching that every one of these *ἑνάδες* is constituted by a combination of one elemental (mathematical) *ἓν* with some sort of *ἄπειρον*. I have done so because Plato says (24 c.) that '*all* things that exist in the universe' (*πάντα τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῷ παντὶ*) are so constituted, unless they be the constituents themselves: from which we must surely infer that the 'generic concepts,' the monads, of 16 c. are so constituted, unless *they* be constituents, unless, that is, they are either *ἄπειρα* or 'limitants.' Now obviously they are not *ἄπειρα*. Therefore, unless they are 'limitants,' they are among the *μικτά*. But 'limitants' they are not. For of the *γέννα* of *πέρας* an illustrative list was given (at 25 b.) as follows: *πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἰσότητα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἴσον τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ πᾶν ὅ τί περ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ᾖ πρὸς μέτρον*, and again (at 26 c.) *τὴν τοῦ ἴσου καὶ διπλασίου καὶ ὁπόση παύει πρὸς ἄλληλα τἀναντία διαφόρως ἔχοντα, σύμμετρα δὲ καὶ σύμφωνα ἐνθεῖσα ἀριθμὸν ἀπεργάζεται*. The offspring, whether homogeneous or not, is, so far at least as Plato indicates, the whole possible family of mathematical numbers and proportions and nothing else. If it be urged that, the list not being exhaustive, Plato may have meant it ultimately to include the generic concepts or 'ideas' (of 16 c.), the answer is that it is quite incredible that he should have omitted all reference to so all-important a group as this, had he intended it to be included.

We may then safely assert that, in the doctrine of the 'Philebus,' particulars, species, and genera, are alike composed cosmically in one and the same way. In all alike the first cause—*ἡ αἰτία τῆς ξυμμίξεως*—causes some *πέρας ἔχον* to supervene upon some variety of the 'unlimited,' and thereby produces regular, natural, good, births, genera, species and particulars. Whatever has not been thus 'limited' by some

πέρας is ipso facto irregular, unnatural, unstable, in flux, excessive: it is not good, it has not been produced in the only way in which good and regular things are produced.

Thus (e.g.) pleasures, other than the select kinds enumerated later on, do not belong to the class μικτὰ, but remain, by the nature of the case, as being unfixed by any πέρας, in the class of ἄπειρα. If they were μικτὰ, that would be as much as saying that they had received 'limitation,' in which case they would be normal, natural, and good, as they are *not*.

And so with all other things in the world, whether they be *particulars*, such as this visible individual man or beautiful object, or *species*, such as this (still visible) species of man (e.g. Athenian) or of beauty, or *genera*, such as this universal and invisible kind, mankind or beauty.

Mankind is a henad, and beauty is another henad, and ox is another, and justice is another.

Every one of these ἑνάδες is a complex of some 'limitant' with some ἄπειρον.

But, furthermore, every one of them is 'a universal,' containing, and paradeigmatically originating, a certain number of species, which, whatever their differentiae (of these Plato in this dialogue at least says nothing), are genuine in so far as they present the essential characteristics of the genus: while each such species contains a (usually) unlimited, or practically countless, multitude of particulars, specimens of that species and so ultimately of the genus to which that species belongs.

The ontological doctrine of the 'Philebus,' thus interpreted, seems to me to justify Aristotle's well-known statement (Met. A. 6, § 3), ἐπεὶ δ' αἴτια εἴδη τοῖς ἄλλοις, τἀκείνων στοιχεῖα πάντων ᾠήθη τῶν ὄντων εἶναι στοιχεῖα.

'Ideas' are αἴτια, causal types or exemplars, of 'particular things.' But 'ideas' *and* 'particular things' are alike composed of στοιχεῖα (elements), to wit, of some 'limitant' united, by the agency of a First Cause, with some μέγα-καὶ-μικρόν.

That the ἰδέαι or ἑνάδες are to be found in the class μικτὰ, and *not* in the class of πέρας, is nowhere perhaps expressly indicated in the 'Philebus' itself; but neither is it anywhere

denied, and it is, I believe, *implied* throughout the ontological sections. Once assume this to be the case, and we avoid any *essential discrepancy* between the 'Philebus' and the 'Republic,' and on the other hand can understand the language of Aristotle (Metaph. l. c.); while finally the ontology of the 'Philebus' is internally self-consistent. Deny it and (*a*) the 'Philebus' falls wholly out of touch with the ontology of the 'Republic':— *ὑγίεια*, *κάλλος*, &c., are expressly, in Phil. 26 b., given as belonging to the *μικτά*; now certainly they are *ἰδέαι* in the 'Republic': (*b*) the language of Aristotle becomes, as it seems to me, inexplicable, except by assuming it to refer to some later development of Platonism which *did* count the *ἰδέαι*, or the great majority of them, as *μικτά*: and (*c*) the 'Philebus' itself becomes incoherent.

It may indeed be legitimate (Platonically speaking) to say that there is an *ἰδέα* of *πέρας* itself. And this Aristotle seems to note or to urge (not very convincingly) as a sort of 'reductio ad absurdum' of the Ideal Theory as a whole. But clearly it is one thing to say 'The hierarchy of *ἰδέαι* belongs itself to the class of "*things created*," created, each, by the fusion of some one 'limitant' with some sort of *ἄπειρον*; yet this *πέρας* and this *ἄπειρον* have (or 'are') *ἰδέαι*': and quite another thing to say 'All the *ἰδέαι*, as we used to call them, we will now call *πέρατα*.' Nowhere in the 'Philebus' does Plato say this. And if he meant it, why did he not say it?

Doubtless *Aristotle's* *εἶδος* is nearer to the *πέρας* of the 'Philebus' than to anything in the class of *μικτὰ*, or than to the *ἰδέαι* of the 'Republic.' But that fact does not prove that the *ἰδέαι* of the 'Republic' (or so many of them as Plato continued to regard as *ἰδέαι* when he wrote the 'Philebus') are not to be found among the *μικτὰ* of the 'Philebus.'

The interpreter of Plato is bound to take account of any explicit assertion made by Aristotle concerning the ideal theory as actually taught; but cannot be responsible for Aristotle's own confusions, not to say perversities, in the use of the term *εἶδος*. I say this merely so as to keep the ground clear, and without any bias against any one who shall exhibit satisfactorily the coherence of the Aristotelian use of *εἶδος*. Pending such

elucidation I assume that Aristotle used εἶδος for at least two quite different purposes, viz.

(1) as = Plato's word ἰδέα (which, it seems to me, he would better have retained in this connexion);

(2) as = 'form' in *his* sense; i.e. as a term to denote a concept unknown to Plato.

After careful study of Dr Jackson's paper on the 'Philebus' (in the Journal of Philology for 1882), as well as of his other most instructive and valuable papers in 'Plato's Later Theory of Ideas' (in subsequent numbers of the same Journal), I find that, whereas in certain points of some real importance I am unable to go with him, there is nevertheless a fundamental accord (if I may be permitted to say so) between his most important results and my own conclusions; as to which I can only say that, even where they involve dissent from some parts of Dr Jackson's view, they owe any truth that may be found to be in them more to him and to his teaching, oral or written, than to any other one expositor of Plato. I feel, therefore, that it will be at once most courteous to a teacher, whom I regard with so much admiration and gratitude, and most consonant with that fidelity to conviction which he would be foremost in urging his pupils, at any cost of predilection, to maintain, if I add to the foregoing note a confession of the extent to which I can, or cannot, assent to his published pronouncements.

(1) I agree with Dr Jackson, as also with Prof. Campbell and Mr Bury, in regarding the 'Philebus,' as well as (probably) the 'Theaetetus,' and certainly the 'Sophistes,' 'Politicus' and 'Parmenides,' as posterior to the 'Republic.'

(2) Following Dr Jackson, and taught by him, I recognise

(α) that in dialogues subsequent to the 'Republic,' and therefore in the 'Philebus,' the Ideas are '*paradeigmatic*,' that each one of them is a 'type' to which particulars, more or less truly, conform and thereby gain 'reality';

(β) that accordingly these dialogues, and especially the 'Philebus,' exhibit a marked and critical *development* of Plato's original Ideal Theory;

(γ) that there is also in them an important and far-

reaching *modification* of that Theory, seeing that in them Plato ceases to recognise (*a*) Ideas of bad, ugly, negative or eccentric things or qualities, (*b*) Ideas of *τὰ πρός τι* ('*Relations*' in the ordinary, narrow sense); and that there was thus, as Dr Jackson admirably expresses it, a great 'depopulation' of the world of Ideas.

But (3) this depopulation was, I think, somewhat less considerable than Dr Jackson supposes; there being, I would submit,

(*α*) no *decisive* evidence that Plato, in his later theory, rejected *all* ideas of *σκευαστά*,

(*β*) a very strong presumption, in the absence of any assertion in Plato to the contrary, and (in the 'Philebus' at least) some positive evidence that Plato retained to the last those Ideas of moral and intellectual qualities—*αὐτὸ τὸ καλὸν*, *αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον*, *αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν*, and the rest—which are for us, as I believe they were for Plato, of greater consequence and interest than any others.

(4) In making his 'ideas' paradeigmatic Plato, it seems to me, does not recant his doctrine of participation (*μέθεξις*); which, as I hope to shew on another occasion, is rather emphasised and defended, than superseded, by the paradeigmatic doctrine.

(5) Believing on independent grounds that the 'Ideas' are, in the 'Philebus,' to be sought in the class *μικτὰ*, it was with great satisfaction that, in reading Dr Jackson's paper on the 'Philebus,' I found this view maintained by so eminent a Platonic scholar.

(6) On the other hand, as regards 'Pleasures,' I cannot go all the way with Dr Jackson, when he places *all* pleasures in the class *μικτά*.

And, as will have been seen, my interpretation of the passage 14 c.—15 a. diverges, in one important point, from his.

In support of the first three of the foregoing positions I venture to offer a few observations.

(1) That the 'Philebus' is posterior, and not prior, to the

'Republic' appears to me to be evidenced by the following facts:

The long and elaborate discussion of 'pleasures' in the 'Philebus,' which Zeller and others have confidently declared to be presupposed in the 'Republic' (vi. p. 505 b. sq.) as familiar, may, as Dr Jackson justly points out, be at least equally well regarded as a re-statement 'on a larger scale' of 'his views about the contemporary controversy,' while, as the same scholar urges, in all other respects the structure and style, as well as the metaphysical content, of the 'Philebus,' present features which indicate the priority of the 'Republic,' features which, I would add, remain, however we interpret in detail the divergences of particular statement between the two dialogues. As regards structure and style, in addition to the points adduced by Dr Jackson, I would instance the free use of such phrases, at once comprehensive and scientifically exact, as *ἕξιν ψυχῆς καὶ διάθεσιν* (11 d.), of such abstract nouns as *διαφορότητα*, *βαρύτητος*, &c., of *τὸ πᾶν* (= 'the universe'), of *ἀνάμνησις* (in a sense distinct from that of the 'Phaedrus') with the statement of its relation to *μνήμη*, &c.; while as regards content the absence from the 'Republic' of the terms *πέρας* and *τὸ ἄπειρον*, and *ἑνάδες*, as well as of the ethico-metaphysical terms *μετριότης* and *τὸ μέτριον* (in the sense which the word here bears), tends to prove that the 'Republic' did not come in between the 'Philebus' and the 'Laws,' in which, as again in Aristotle's 'Ethics' and 'Metaphysics,' these and similar terms recur. And finally the 'Ideas' are, in the 'Philebus,' taken for granted and are not, as in the 'Republic,' *introduced* as accounting for things: the problem now is how to meet difficulties which have arisen about them.

(2) As regards the presentation of the Ideas as 'fixed types' or *παραδείγματα*—a view of them already foreshown in the 'Republic[1],' though not till now predominant—Dr Jackson has said all that needs to be said positively.

And the 'depopulation of the world of real existences,' which, as he truly observes, is implied by this new view of the 'Ideas,' is, to my mind, broadly hinted at in the 'Philebus,' and

[1] Where the particular is already an *ὁμοίωμα* of the 'idea.'

even measured for us, in a passage which I cannot follow Dr Jackson in declining to take as evidence of Plato's revised doctrine. I refer to 15 a.: *ὅταν δέ τις ἕν' ἄνθρωπον ἐπιχειρῇ τίθεσθαι καὶ βοῦν ἕνα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἓν καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἕν, περὶ τούτων τῶν ἑνάδων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ πολλὴ σπουδή, κ.τ.λ.*

Without entering upon the difficult question of the right reading of the remainder of the sentence (where, however, Dr Jackson's emendation *ἢ μετὰ διαιρέσεως* is palaeographically, at any rate, more likely than even Badham's (1st ed.) *μετὰ δὲ διαιρέσεως*), I venture upon the following remark upon the matter of the undisputed portion of the sentence, viz. the protasis.

Whereas in the 'Republic' and 'Phaedo' we have, as Dr Jackson reminds us in the very useful list collected by him in his note (Jo. Philol. x. p. 254), ideas[1] of *κακὸν, ἄδικον, αἰσχρὸν κ.τ.λ.*—and again of *μέγα, ὅλον, περιττὸν, ἔλαττον* or *σμικρότης, θερμὸν* or *θερμότης κ.τ.λ.*—*side by side* with ideas of *ἀγαθὸν, καλὸν, δικαιοσύνη, σωφροσύνη, πῦρ, ἄνθρωπος, ψυχὴ, ζῷον κ.τ.λ.*, we find here, in the 'Philebus,' no example of the sort *κακὸν, αἰσχρὸν κ.τ.λ.*, nor any of the sort *μέγα, περιττὸν, σμικρὸν, θερμὸν, κ.τ.λ.*; in other words, we note an entire omission of ideas

(*a*) of bad, ugly, negative or divergent qualities,

(*b*) of correlative terms—primary and secondary qualities of things (as later logicians would call them), from which it appears to me reasonable to infer that Plato had ceased to admit eternal, immutable ideas (*a*) of bad, negative, and divergent qualities, (*b*) of 'relations' (in the restricted sense indicated); and that he had so far, that is, of course, very extensively and effectively, thinned the number of his eternal realities: and thus Dr Jackson's general statement of the case is amply justified.

(3) On the other hand I cannot bring myself to believe, and the passage above quoted confirms me in my disbelief, that Plato abandoned ideas of *καλὸν, ἀγαθὸν, δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.*

[1] I take only *instances* of the two main sorts out of the list.

That he retained ideas of 'natural kinds,' that is, I suppose, inter alia, of *βοῦς*, *ἄνθρωπος* κ.τ.λ., is admitted.

My contention is that he also retained ideas of transcendental 'kinds,' such as 'beauty,' 'justice,' 'goodness.'

It appears to me, though here I speak with great diffidence, that Aristotle implies as much in that very polemic (Met. A. cc. 6, 9) which Dr Jackson has analysed so acutely; and in the 1st Book, at all events, of the 'Ethics.'

But whether Aristotle implies it or not, I am deeply convinced that Plato does.

I am not quite sure what Dr Jackson's precise conclusion is on this point. But in any case I cannot help hoping that the ultimate results of his valuable and scholarly investigation may include a recognition of the permanency, in Plato's theory, of the great ethical *ἰδέαι*, a permanency which (I submit) is presupposed by the 'Laws,' no less than by the ethical content of the 'Philebus.'

J. M. SCHULHOF.

PLATO THEAETETUS 179 E—180 A.

ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ κατὰ τὰ συγγράμματα φέρονται, τὸ δ' ἐπιμεῖναι ἐπὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐρωτήματι καὶ ἡσύχως ἐν μέρει ἀποκρίνασθαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι ἧττον αὐτοῖς ἔνι ἢ τὸ μηδέν· μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερβάλλει τὸ οὐδ' οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ σμικρὸν ἐνεῖναι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἡσυχίας.

I have not succeeded in discovering in any of the commentaries a satisfactory explanation of the last fourteen words of this extract. Theodorus in his invective against the Ephesians is advancing from hyperbole to hyperbole: and clearly the climax of hyperbole is to be found in these final words; but none of the editors obtain any such climax from them. Kennedy alone by his translation ("an infinite minus quantity") has shown himself aware that the sentence contains the climax: but it is hard to see how the Greek will yield his rendering. Theodorus says first that the faculty of quietude in the Ephesians is zero; then that it is a negative quantity; thirdly, what? Evidently there is but one further step that hyperbole can take:—it is less than a negative quantity. And this meaning comes quite simply out of the Greek, which, literally rendered, amounts to this: "or rather the not-even-nothing (*τὸ οὐδ' οὐδέν*) is too great in comparison with the absence of ever so little quietude in the men." In plain English, "A negative quantity do I say? Why even that is too great to express the infinitesimally small amount of quiet there is in them." All depends upon taking *οὐδὲ* not as strengthening but as negativing *οὐδέν*: *οὐδ' οὐδὲν* is in fact synonymous with *ἧττον ἢ τὸ μηδέν*. Heindorf, had he not failed to notice this, would have given a perfectly satisfactory account of the passage.

R. D. ARCHER-HIND.

ADVERSARIA. V.

Aesch. Suppl. 949, 950 Weckl.

τί σοι λέγειν χρὴ τοὔνομ'; ἐν χρόνῳ μαθὼν
†εἰσθιγαυτος χοἱ ξυνέμποροι σέθεν.

The accepted correction of this is Bothe's *εἴσει σύ τ' αὐτός*, far enough from the tradition of M. Perhaps the *θ* of *εἰσθιγαυτος* points to a 2nd pers. plur. *εἴσεσθε* followed by *γ' αὐτός* or possibly *καὐτός*. The form *εἴσεσθε* is rare but attested by Veitch.

Antimach. fr. 20 [Kinkel p. 281].

Κήρυκας †ἀθανάτοισι φέρειν μέλανος οἴνοιο
ἀσκὸν ἐνίπλειον.

Perhaps *δ' ἀνένευσε*.

fr. 31 Schol. Pind. Olymp. VI. 21. *τοὺς δὲ ἵππους αὐτοῦ* (Amphiarai) *φησὶν Ἀντίμαχος εἶναι †ἀσυστάτους, οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλούς.*

For *ἀσυστάτους* may be suggested *Ἀστυρικοὺς* or perhaps *Ἀστυραίους*. The Spanish Asturia was famous in antiquity for its fine breed of horses: hence the Latin *Asturco*, to which is ascribed by Pliny H. N. VIII. 166 *non uolgaris in cursu gradus sed mollis alterno crurum explicatu glomeratio.* Mart. XIV. 199 *Hic breuis ad numeros rapidum qui colligit unguem Venit ab auriferis gentibus Astur ecus.* Sil. XVI. 583 *Asturica rapidos de gente iugales.* III. 335—7.

fr. 58. *Ἀντίμαχος Ἰαχίνῃ*. I suspect *Ἰναχιώνῃ*. Callim. H. Dian. 254: cf. *Ἀργειώνη*, another form of the same kind, used by Antimachus fr. 38. Inachione might be either Io or Danae.

Herond. III. 24—6.

τριθημέρᾳ Μάρωνα γραμματίζοντος
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν Μάρων' ἐποίησεν
οὗτος Σίμων' ὁ χρηστός.

In Cl. Rev. for 1891 p. 547 I gave reasons for believing the date of Herondas to be post-Vergilian. I am still unconvinced by the prevailing arguments in favour of a Ptolemaic date, and returning to the above passage after some interval find myself more than ever struck by the name *Maron*.

From Eustath. on Od. *κ* 171 (quoted by C. Wendel in his excellent treatise *de nominibus Bucolicis*, p. 71, Teubner 1900), it appears that Bacchylides and Simonides were sometimes called Bacchon and Simon respectively: a statement which Wendel confirms from Lucian's Gallus 14 *χαῖρε, ἔφην, ὦ Σίμων. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας 'εἶπατε' ἔφη, 'τῷ πτωχῷ τούτῳ μὴ κατασμικρύνειν μου τοὔνομα· οὐ γὰρ Σίμων, ἀλλὰ Σιμωνίδης ὀνομάζομαι.'*

Now if we suppose Herondas to have known this, as no doubt he did, we have a reason for the combination of the names, viz. that *each is the name of a very great poet*. For Vergil (*Maro*) the incorrigible school-boy Cottalos substitutes the equally famous Simonides (*Simon*). This satisfies the expectation raised by Herondas' invariable aim at effect and finish: if *Μάρων'* is Vergil, Simonides would form a not inadequate antithesis, particularly if we suppose part of Cottalos' offence to be an obstinate preference for everything Greek (to which race he belongs) to anything Roman or Italian.

Hesiod. Catalogi fragm. 96 (Kinkel p. 118).

πρῶτοι δ' ἱστία †θέσσαν νεὼς πτερὰ ποντοπόροιο.

Perhaps *ἱστί' ἔσαντο*.

ib. fr. 123. The author of the dialogue *Minos* ascribed to Plato says that Hesiod *μνησθεὶς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος φησίν, ὃς βασιλεύτατος γένετο θνητῶν βασιλῆων*. This might be *ὃς θνητῶν βασιλεύτατος ἦεν ἀνάκτων*.

Lucian de morte Peregrini c. 43.

καὶ ὡς ἐπιταραχθείη μὲν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι γνόφου καταβάντος καὶ κῦμα παμμέγεθες ἐγείραντος.

Most of the MSS exhibited in Lionello Levi's edition have *ἐν μέσῳ τῷ ἀγῶνι* except that the codex Parisinus 2954, of which a collation is added at the end of the volume, has *αἰγαίῳ* written over *ἀγῶνι* in another hand.

I have little doubt that Lucian wrote *Αἴγωνι*, the name of the god of the Aegean, or perhaps of the Aegean itself. A. P. XI. 247. 3 *Ἀντλεῖται δ' Ἀδριάς, Τυῤῥηνικός, Ἰσσικός, Αἴγων.* Val. Fl. I. 629 *quanto fremitu se sustulit Aegon* where Langen comments 'Aegonem pro mari Aegeo ex Graeco sermone uidetur Valerius sumpsisse.' IV. 715 *nec tantas quamuis Tyrrhenus et Aegon Voluat aquas.* Stat. Theb. V. 56 *innumeris quas spumifer adsilit Aegon.* Hertzberg wished to restore the same word *Aegon* in Cir. 481 *Donec tale decus formae uexarier †egros* (*al.* egrā), where the Brussels MS gives *undis*, which has the look of an interpolation.

If I am right in reading *ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Αἴγωνι*, the name must quite have lost all trace of a *personal* idea when Lucian wrote; this is equally true of A. P. XI. 247. 3.

Lucr. III. 493.

Nimirum quia uis morbi distracta per artus
Turbat agens animam spumans †in aequore salso
Ventorum ualidis feruescunt uiribus undae.

Spumans in may be a corruption of *spumam cit ut.* The form *cit* is found in Colum. VI. 5. 1 *cit aluum*, and *concit percit* are Lucretian VI. 410, III. 303. *Spumam cit* might be compared with Nemes. Cyneg. 257 *Hinnitusque cient tremuli frenisque repugnant;* the subject, as there the horse, so here the diseased patient. That *in* and *ut* are interchangeable, seems to be established by Vell. P. 55. 1 and 50. 2.

Lucr. VI. 508.

quo cum bene semina aquarum
Multa modis multis conuenere undique adaucta
Confertae nubes †ui uenti mittere certant
Dupliciter.

ui uenti, if it is not an error caused by *uis uenti* which follows immediately in 511, might well be a miswriting of *uuenti* (*a*). Lucr. has *uuescunt* I. 306.

VI. 755.

Usque adeo fugitant non iras Palladis acris
Peruigili causa graium ut cecinere poetae
Sed natura loci †opus efficit ipsa suapte.

I have not found, in any note that I have seen, the suggestion *pus* for *opus*. The birds were afraid of the *poisonous* nature of the place. *Suapte* I explain 'of its own accord,' as it seems to be in Varro L. L. v. 108 Spengel *caseus a coacto lacte ut coaxeus dictus; dein posteaquam desierunt esse contenti his quae suapte natura ferebat sine igne, in quo erant poma, quae minus cruda esse poterant decoquebant in olla:* for it is clear that *suapte* cannot here be nominative agreeing with *natura*. So Apuleius Met. IX. 25 *adseuerans breui absque noxa nostri suapte inimicum eius uiolentia sulpuris periturum*. The note of Hildebrand on this shows that in two passages of Solinus also *suopte ingenio* appears in several MSS as *suapte* i.e. as not connected grammatically with *ingenio*. I am aware that this is against Lachmann's view on Lucr. VI. 755, but he speaks with hesitation, and not as if he had the whole evidence before him. See Neue-Wagener Formenl. II. pp. 374, 5.

Sen. de Providentia II. 2. 7 Gertz, whose collation of the Milan MS (A) I print in italics.

Ego uero non miror si aliquando impetum capiunt spectant dii magnos uiros conluctantes cum aliqua calamitate.

The repetition of *di* (before and at the end of *spectandi*) seems to be the source of confusion. I would write *si aliquando impetum capiunt di spectandi.*

Sen. ad Marciam De Consol. III. 2 Gertz.

ut primum tamen intulit tumulo (sc. Drusum), *simul et illum et dolorem suum posuit, nec plus doluit quam aut honestum erat Caesarę aut ęquo maluo.*

Seneca is speaking of the fortitude with which the empress Livia bore the death of her son Drusus in Germany. Once consigned to the tomb, she resolutely put the thought of him aside. She would not allow her grief to go beyond the limits

which her position as the wife of Augustus permitted, or *her maternity justified.*

Write therefore *quam aut honestum erat Caesari aut aequom aluo.* Cic. Cluent. XII spes illa quam in aluo continebat.

ib. 4. *Quae enim, malum, amentia est poenas a se infelicitatis exigere et mala sua †non augere?*

uno for *non* Gertz: I suggest *nouo.*

ib. X. fin.

Moderandum est itaque uobis maxime quę immoderate fertis et in multos et indolores humani pectus dispensanda.

Gertz prints M. e. i. u. m. qui ea immoderate fertis et in multos dolores humani pectoris uis dispensanda, as Madvig corrected the passage Adv. Crit. II. p. 348.

It may be doubted, I think, whether *quae* needs alteration: it seems to be a neuter plural depending on *fertis,* 'You women (Seneca is addressing Marcia and women generally) ought above all to control what you cannot bear without losing your self-control,' i.e. sudden calamities like the loss of an only son. *maxime* refers not to *uobis,* as if a particular class of *sufferers* were specially marked out, but to *quae fertis immoderate.*

The iteration of *in* in A before *dolores* is strange, but seems to fall under errors of dittography. Madvig's *pectoris uis* for *pectus* does not seem to me right: the way to control the uncontrollable would be to prevent its holding an undivided ascendancy, purposely withdrawing the mind from *one* overpowering grief and distracting it by a variety. This might be *in multos dolores humani animi pestis dispensanda,* 'the bane of the human soul must be distributed among a variety of sorrows.'

ib. XI. 1.

Putre ipsa fluidumque corpus et causis morbo repetitaș sperasti tam imbecilla materia solida et aeterna gestasse?

Gertz conj. *causis morborum.* Rather, perhaps, *causis ac morbo* 'complaints and disease.'

3. *Hoc uidelicet illa pythicis oraculis adscripta nosci te.*

Except *nosce* for *nosci* this seems right as it stands: 'this of course is the meaning of those words written up by the Delphian oracle: know yourself.'

hoc illud is the type on which the vague plural *illa . . . adscripta* seems to be modelled.

ib. XVII. 4, in a description of Syracuse,

Videbis ubi Athenarum potentia fracta ubi tot milia captiuorum ille excisus in infinitam altitudinem †nauliuus carcer incluserat.

Lipsius conj. *natiuus* for *nauliuus*: but something more recondite is probably concealed by this strange-looking word. This, I believe, is *natiuitus*, a rare adverb which would be constructed with *excisus*. The rest of the passage may again be right as A gives it. *ubi* = the place where; *fracta* = fracta est: *incluserat* seems obviously the right tense of a historical event long past and become a legend.

ib. XVIII. 5, *Ad uita fructu*/ (the erased letter was *s*) *seges*
r
abusta sine cultore feritantia.

This should be, I think, ad uitam (so other MSS), fructus, seges, arbusta sine cultore feriantia: 'for the use of life fruits, crops of corn, plantations of trees not requiring cultivation and left to themselves in undisturbed repose.' *feriantia* seems to me certain: its meaning is determined by *sine cultore*.

ib. 6.

Quid lapidum gemmarumque fulgor et inter rapidorum torrentium aurum harenis interfluens.

The first *inter* is another error of dittography, and comes from *interfluens*. It should be omitted, as Schultess suggested.

ib. XIX. 1.

tanti quodque malum est quanti illum taxauimus.

illud other MSS, and *taxabimus* which is written by a later hand in the margin of A. By inverting the order of the last

two words, this becomes a hexameter, and not a bad one: it may have belonged to the popular dicta on the management of life, of which so many have perished. The perfect is more likely to have been written by Seneca than the future: but either of course is possible.

ib. XXII. 5 (in a passage about Cremutius Cordus).

Quid ergo? non rumperetur supra cineres cn. pompei constitui seianum et in monimentis maximi imperatoris consecrari perfidum militem? consecratur subscriptio et acerrimi canes... circumlatrare hominem...incipiunt.

For *consecratur* Lipsius conj. *consarcinatur*, Madvig *concinnatur*. Possibly *consectatur* 'an accusation hounded him on' 'dogged him at the heels.'

ib. XXIV. 4.

harum contemplatione uirtutum filium geri quam si nunc ille tibi magis uacat nunc nihil habet quo uocetur.

filium geri quasi [in sinu]. Nunc ille &c. Madvig, in which correction *quasi* seems indubitable: *in sinu* is less convincing: perhaps *uiueret*, 'as if he were still living.'

Ad Polyb. de Consol. II. 2.

Iniquissima omnium iudicio fortuna adhuc uidebaris eum hominem continuisse qui munere tuo tantam uenerationem receperat ut quod raro ulli contigit felicitas eius effugeret inuidiam.

This treatise is not in A. I give the text as in Gertz (p. 343), based on a number of much inferior MSS.

For *eum hominem continuisse* I would write *eo in homine coniuisse*. Fortune seemed to have closed her eyes in dealing with Polybius' brother, so long he remained untouched by calamity. See Nettleship's article *Contributions to Latin Lexicography* p. 419, where the perfect *coniui* is supported from the Grammatici.

Ad Helv. de Consol. XI. 6. This is in A.

sincerus animus ac naturae suae memor leuis ipse expers et quandoque emissus fuerit ad summa emicaturus.

faecis, oneris, labis have been conjectured: but *leuis* is, I imagine, *luis.*

ib. XVI. 5.

Ne feminae quidem te sinent intabescere volneri tuo sed leuior necessario merore cito defunctam iubebunt exurgere.

Gertz seems here too artificial, *sed* uel pio *necessarioque*: is it not merely *sed leuiore et necessario?*

Stat. S. IV. 4. 101—104.

Iamque uale et penitus noti tibi uatis honorem
Corde exire ueta. nec enim †tirinthius almae
Pectus amicitiae; cedet tibi gloria fidi
Theseos.

The excellent Bodleian MS, second I think only to the *Matritensis,* has *tirincius.* As in Cir. 161 this word seems to be a corruption of *coritus,* so here I believe a word with *o* in the first syllable to be concealed. That word is *torrentius,* more ardent, or vehement in its affection. Theb. VII. 316 *abruptis cum torrentissimus exit Pontibus.*

Stat. S. IV. 5. 22.

hinc mea carmina
Regina bellorum uirago
Caesareo †peramauit auro.

per of *peramauit* may be an error for *ter.* III. 5. 28 *ter me nitidis Albana ferentem Dona comis sanctoque indutum Caesaris auro.* Whether *amauit* is possible, 'greeted lovingly,' or is a corruption of some other verb, it is difficult to determine.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

HERMAS AND CEBES.

In the last article of volume XXVII it was argued that *Hermae Pastor* had *Cebetis Tabula* for one of its sources. Before finishing up our comparison of the two writings, we may now say a word on the question whether "Hermas" was likely to have borrowed from "Cebes."

Lucian in *De Mercede Conductis* § 42 writes, Βούλομαι δ' ὅμως ἔγωγε ὥσπερ ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος εἰκόνα τινὰ τοῦ τοιούτου βίου σοὶ γράψαι...Καὶ δὴ γεγράφθω προπύλαια μὲν ὑψηλὰ κ.τ.λ. ἀπαντάτω δὲ ἐξιόντι ἡ Μετάνοια δακρύουσα ἐς οὐδὲν ὄφελος καὶ τὸν ἄθλιον ἐπαπολλύουσα. Τοῦτο μὲν ἔστω τὸ τέλος τῆς γραφῆς.

Similarly in *Rhetorum Praeceptor* § 6 he writes, Ἐθέλω δέ σοι πρῶτον ὥσπερ ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος εἰκόνα γραψάμενος τῷ λόγῳ ἑκατέραν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ὁδόν·...Καὶ δῆτα ἡ μὲν [Ῥητορικὴ] ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ καθήσθω πάνυ καλὴ καὶ εὐπρόσωπος κ.τ.λ.

Thus he gives us two Πινακίδια composed in imitation of the Πίναξ ascribed to Cebes.

Tertullian in *De Praescrip. Haeret.* speaks of heretics and their manipulations of Holy Scripture, and then in cap. 39 he gives parallels "de saecularibus quoque scripturis," thus, "Vides hodie ex Virgilio fabulam in totum aliam componi, materia secundum versus, versibus secundum materiam concinnatis. Denique Osidius Geta Medeam tragoediam ex Virgilio plenissime exsuxit. *Meus quidem propinquus ex eodem poeta inter cetera styli sui otia* PINACEM CEBETIS *exposuit.*"

If a kinsman of Tertullian versified and paraphrased the *Tabula,* Hermas may very well have based his *Pastor* upon it.

THE EPILOGUE.

It remains to compare some things in the epilogue of the *Tabula* with the *Pastor*. As in the former article on HERMAS AND CEBES, the letter *c* here denotes the Greek of *Cebetis Tabula*, which will be quoted by chapter and by line according to the Oxford text as before.

The epilogue begins thus,

XXXIII. Ὁ μὲν δὴ μῦθος, ὦ ξένοι, ὁ ἐν τῷ πίνακι τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐστίν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ τι προσπυθέσθαι περὶ ἑκάστου τούτων, οὐδεὶς φθόνος· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν φράσω.

Ξ. καλῶς λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ. Ἀλλὰ τί κελεύει αὐτοὺς τὸ Δαιμόνιον λαβεῖν παρὰ τῆς Ψευδοπαιδείας;

Π. ταῦθ' ἃ δοκεῖ εὔχρηστα εἶναι.

Ξ. ταῦτ' οὖν τίνα ἐστί;

Π. γράμματα, ἔφη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἃ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς νέοις, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἕτερα περισπῶνται.

This will be found to throw light on some points in the Vigil of Hermas with the Virgins described in Sim. ix. 11,

5. κἀγὼ ὡσεὶ νεώτερος ἐγεγόνειν καὶ ἠρξάμην καὶ αὐτὸς παίζειν μετ' αὐτῶν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον, [αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο,] αἱ δὲ ᾖδον· ἐγὼ δὲ σιγὴν ἔχων μετ' αὐτῶν κύκλῳ τοῦ πύργου περιεπάτουν, καὶ ἱλαρὸς ἤμην μετ' αὐτῶν. 6. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης ἤθελον εἰς τὸν οἶκον ὑπάγειν· αἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχον με. καὶ ἔμεινα μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν νύκτα, καὶ ἐκοιμήθην παρὰ τὸν πύργον. 7. ἔστρωσαν γὰρ αἱ παρθένοι τοὺς λινοῦς χιτῶνας ἑαυτῶν χαμαί, καὶ ἐμὲ ἀνέκλιναν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἐποίουν εἰ μὴ προσηύχοντο· κἀγὼ μετ' αὐτῶν ἀδιαλείπτως προσηυχόμην, καὶ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκείνων. καὶ ἔχαιρον αἱ παρθένοι οὕτω μου προσευχομένου. καὶ ἔμεινα ἐκεῖ μέχρι τῆς αὔριον ἕως ὥρας δευτέρας μετὰ τῶν παρθένων. 8. εἶτα παρῆν ὁ ποιμήν, καὶ λέγει ταῖς παρθένοις· Μή τινα αὐτῷ ὕβριν πεποιήκατε;

c. 531 f. ἃ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ὡσανεὶ χαλινοῦ τινος δύναμιν ἔχειν τοῖς νεοῖς, ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἕτερα περισπῶνται] The

reference is to the seventh book of the *Laws* (808 D, E) *ὁ δὲ παῖς πάντων θηρίων ἐστὶ δυσμεταχειριστότατον· ὅσῳ γὰρ μάλιστα ἔχει πηγὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν μήπω κατηρτυμένην, ἐπίβουλον καὶ δριμὺ καὶ ὑβριστότατον θηρίων γίγνεται. διὸ δὴ πολλοῖς αὐτὸ οἷον χαλινοῖς τισὶ δεῖ δεσμεύειν, πρῶτον μὲν τροφῶν καὶ μητέρων ὅταν ἀπαλλάττηται, παιδαγωγοῖς παιδίας καὶ νηπιότητος χάριν, ἔτι δ' αὖ τοῖς διδάσκουσι καὶ ὁτιοῦν καὶ* μαθήμαcιν, *ὡς ἐλεύθερον· ὡς δ' αὖ δοῦλον κ.τ.λ.* (809 B) *τὰ μὲν οὖν δὴ χορείας πέρι μελῶν τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως ἐρρήθη, τίνα τύπον ἔχοντα ἐκλεκτέα τέ ἐστι καὶ ἐπανορθωτέα καὶ καθιερωτέα· τὰ δὲ ἐν γράμμασι μὲν ὄντα, κ.τ.λ.*

In the earlier part of the book it is remarked that in an infant silence is a sign of satisfaction, *οὗ μὲν γὰρ ἂν προσφερομένου σιγᾷ, καλῶς οἴονται προσφέρειν* (792 A). The child having reached the age of from three to six, a caution is given, *τὸ μὴ μεθ' ὕβρεως κολάζοντας ὀργὴν ἐμποιεῖν* (793 E). Such children should meet at the village *ἱερά*, they and their attendants being under the control of *τῶν δώδεκα γυναικῶν μίαν* (794 A), one of twelve matrons elected annually.

Τὰ δὲ *μαθήματά που διττά*. There must be gymnastics for the body and music *εὐψυχίας χάριν*. To *γυμναστική* belongs *ὄρχησις*, of which there are two sorts, *ἄλλη μὲν Μούσης λέξιν μιμουμένων*, the other sort for the training of the body only (795 D, E).

The consecration of their dances and songs by the Egyptians is commended (799 A). Χοροί at sacrifices *ἐνίοτε πᾶσαν βλασφημίαν τῶν ἱερῶν καταχέουσι*, but let our *ᾠδῆς γένος* be always *εὔφημον* (800 D, E). The *νομοθέτης*, advised by experts, should regulate ὄρχηcίν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ πᾶcαν χορείαν (802 C).

c. 532 f. *χαλινοῦ τοῖς νέοις*] *Mand.* xii. 1. 1—2 *μισήσεις τὴν πονηρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ χαλιναγωγήσεις αὐτὴν καθὼς βούλει. ἀγρία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπιθυμία ἡ πονηρὰ καὶ δυσκόλως ἡμεροῦται. Epist. Polyc.* § 5 *ὁμοίως καὶ* νεώτεροι...χαλιναγωγοῦντες *ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ...ὅτι πᾶσα ἐπιθυμία κ.τ.λ.* Hermas describes the evil Ἐπιθυμία in terms applicable to a wild beast, thinking probably of Plato's word *θηρίον* in 808 D, or cf. 766 A. He would have thought also of St James iii. 2 f. and of bridling

the tongue, to which he may refer in *Sim.* ix. 11. 5 *σιγὴν ἔχων*. *Vis.* ii. 1. 4 *οὐχ ηὕρισκον γὰρ τὰς συλλαβάς. τελέσαντος οὖν μου τὰ γράμματα κ.τ.λ.*, as if he was a *παιδίον*, is accounted for by *c.* 531 f. *γράμματα τοῖς νέοις.*

ὡσεὶ νεώτερος...παίζειν] With reference to *c.* 533 *νέοις*. In *σιγὴν ἔχων...ἱλαρός* there may be an allusion to Plato's *σιγᾷ* (792 A), or to the requirement *ἀκούειν μετὰ σιγῆς*, as in *Laws* III (700 C). With *ἀνέκλιναν* compare St Luke ii. 7 *ἀνέκλινεν*. Hermas is a child in the hands of these *πνεύματα*, cf. *Vis.* i. 1. 3 *πνεῦμά με ἔλαβεν*, ii. 1. 1 *πάλιν με αἶρει πνεῦμα.*

Hermas uses *νέοι* in a spiritual sense in *Vis.* iii. 5. 4 *Νέοι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ πίστει*, 13. 4 *ὁλοτελῶς νέοι ἔσονται.* With *ὡσεὶ νεώτερος* cf. *νεωτέρα*, of the appearance of the Church, in *Vis.* iii. 10, 12, 13.

With the help of Plato's *Laws* we can account also for the dancing and singing of the Virgins in *Sim.* ix. 11.

αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον (*c.* 334 *χορόν*), [*αἱ δὲ ὠρχοῦντο,*] *αἱ δὲ ᾖδον*] The singing and the two kinds of dancing are suggested as *μαθήματα τοῖς νέοις** (*c.* 531 f.) by words of Plato, as *ὄρχησίν τε καὶ ᾠδὴν καὶ πᾶσαν χορείαν* (802 C), *χορείας πέρι μελῶν τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως* (809 B). In his *τῶν δώδεκα* (794 A) there is a remarkable coincidence with the number of the Virgins†, and *ἱερά* in the same context answers to the tower. In *Laws* II. (654 A) it is said that men have *τοὺς θεοὺς συγχορευτάς*, and *Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ἀχόρευτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, τὸν δὲ πεπαιδευμένον ἱκανῶς κεχορευκότα θετέον ;*

Compare also Philo *De Plant. Noe* § 25 (M. i. 345) *βωμοῖς γὰρ ἀπύροις*, περὶ οὓς ἀρεταὶ χορεύουσι, *γέγηθεν ὁ θεός.*

νύκτα...ὕβριν] The Vigil was explained partly as a contrast in vol. XXI. 250, with reference to the indictment of Vice by Virtue in Xen. *Mem. Socr.* II. 1 *τῆς μὲν* ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΥΒΡΙΖΟΥΣΑ, *τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα.* These words from the myth of Prodicus would have suggested a *παννυχίς* without *ὕβρις* to Hermas, who (as we have seen) sometimes "disguises his allusions by inversion." The *Tabula* alone

* In the first and third Gospels children are thought of as saying to their fellows, *Ηὐλήσαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ὠρχήσασθε* (Matt. xi., Luke vii.).

† Plato's number 30×12 (756 B) is to be found in *Sim.* vi. 4. 4.

would have accounted for *ὕβριν* (*c.* 160 *ὑβρίζετο*), but not so well for *νύκτα*.

The contrast between the Virgins' Vigil and the orgies of Vice is illustrated by Philo *De Cherub.* §§ 25, 27 (M. i. 154f.) *μόνος ὁ θεὸς ἀψευδῶς ἑορτάζει κ.τ.λ.* At human *ἑορταί* there are *μέθη, κῶμοι, ἀπρεπεῖς ἡδοναί, βιαιότταται ὕβρεις, νυκτεγερσίαι πρὸς ἀπλήστους ἐπιθυμίας, ὕπνος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, φύσεως ἔργων ἐναλλαγή.* In the New Testament compare Eph. v. 18 f. *καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶν ἀσωτία, ἀλλὰ κ.τ.λ.*

χιτῶνας] *Sim.* ix. 2. 4—5 *ἐνδεδυμέναι δὲ ἦσαν λινοῦς χιτῶνας καὶ περιεζωσμέναι* εὐπρεπῶς, *ἔξω τοὺς ὤμους ἔχουσαι τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὡς μέλλουσαί φορτίον τι βαστάζειν....μετὰ τὸ ἰδεῖν με ταῦτα ἐθαύμαζον ἐν ἐμαυτῷ, ὅτι μεγάλα καὶ ἔνδοξα πράγματα βλέπω. καὶ πάλιν διηπόρουν ἐπὶ ταῖς παρθένοις, ὅτι τρυφεραὶ οὕτως οὖσαι* ἀνδρείως *εἱστήκεισαν ὡς μέλλουσαι ὅλον τὸν οὐρανὸν βαστάζειν.*

The athletic attire of the Virgins and their manfulness are accounted for by *Laws* VIII. (833 C, D), where *ἀθλήματα* are prescribed for women as well as men, *κοραῖς μὲν ἀνήβοις γυμναῖς*, but those above thirteen were to descend to the contest πρεπούσῃ στολῇ *ἐσταλμένας.*

XXXIV. *Ξ. πότερον οὐδὲ προέχουσιν οὗτοι οἱ μαθη-* 546
ματικοὶ πρὸς τὸ βελτίους γενέσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώ-
πων ;

Words used repeatedly in the *Tabula*, as *προέχειν* (*c.* 546, 549, 556, 566) and *βελτίους* (*c.* 537, 539, 540, 547, 576, 646), would have been noticed by Hermas. Compare *Mand.* xii. 2. 1 Πάντων προέχουσα *ἐπιθυμία, al.* Πρῶτον *πάντων ἐπιθυμία. Vis.* iii. 4. 3 Οὐχ *ὅτι σὺ ἐκ πάντων ἀξιώτερος εἶ ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ· ἄλλοι γάρ σου πρότεροί εἰσιν καὶ* βελτίονες.

Πῶς *μέλλουσι προέχειν* (*c.* 549), when they have evidently been deceived about what is good or evil *ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ;* Nothing hinders

εἰδέναι μὲν γράμματα καὶ κατέχειν τὰ μαθήματα πάντα, 552
ὁμοίως δὲ μέθυσον καὶ ἀκρατῆ εἶναι, καὶ φιλάργυρον καὶ
ἄδικον καὶ προδότην, καὶ τὸ πέρας ἄφρονα.

Compare *Sim.* vi. 5. 5 *μέθυσος*, ix. 15. 3 *Ἀκρασία*. *Vis.* ii. 2. 2, *Sim.* viii. 6. 4, ix. 19. 1, 3 *προδόται*. *Mand.* vi. 1. 2 *τῷ δὲ ἀδικῷ μὴ πιστεύσῃς*. *Sim.* i. 3 (with reference in effect to *φιλαργυρία*) *ἄφρον καὶ δίψυχε καὶ ταλαίπωρε* (*c.* 452) *ἄνθρωπε*. See also on 662 f.

c. 560 f.] But why do the men who have only *Ψευδοπαιδεία* frequent the second enclosure, *ὥσπερ ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς τὴν Ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν*, seemingly nearing but never reaching the third? In *Mand.* xi. 13 the pseudo-prophet *ὅλως εἰς συναγωγὴν ἀνδρῶν δικαίων* οὐκ *ἐγγίζει*.

c. 567 *ἡ δυσμαθέστεροι*] The men in the second enclosure, unlike those in the first, *προσποιοῦνται ἐπίστασθαι ἃ οὐκ οἴδασιν* (*c.* 572). They think that Παιδείαν ἔχουσιν when they have not, *οὕτω δὲ διακείμενοι οὐκ ἄν ποτε σωθεῖεν* (*c.* 578 f.). *Vis.* iii. 9. 10 *πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς Κυρίου, αὐτοὶ* μὴ ἔχοντες παιδείαν; *Sim.* ix. 22. 1 *Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τοῦ πέμπτου...οἱ πιστεύσαντες τοιοῦτοί εἰσι· πιστοὶ μέν,* ἀγσμαθεῖς *δὲ καὶ αὐθάδεις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκοντες, θέλοντες πάντα γινώσκειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως γινώσκουσι.* 2. *διὰ τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἡ* σύνεσις *καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφροσύνη μωρά. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ ἑαυτοὺς ὡς σύνεσιν ἔχοντας, καὶ θέλουσιν ἐθελοδιδάσκαλοι εἶναι, ἄφρονες ὄντες.* 3...*ἐκ τούτων οὖν πολλοὶ ἀπεβλήθησαν, τινὲς δὲ* μετενόησαν *καὶ ἐπίστευσαν καὶ ὑπέταξαν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἔχουσι σύνεσιν, γνόντες τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀφροσύνην.* 4. *καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις κεῖται μετάνοια· οὐκ ἐγένοντο γὰρ πονηροί, μᾶλλον δὲ μωροὶ καὶ ἀσύνετοι.* We have here a compromise between *μετάνοια* in the Christian sense and *Μετάνοια, alias Μεταμέλεια* (*c.* 577), as a change from *ἀφροσύνη* to *σύνεσις*. For the rest of them, it is said, *κεῖται μετάνοια*, for they were not wicked but only *ἀσύνετοι*.

Hermas, like a second Socrates, says *ὅλως οὐθὲν νοῶ* or the like in *Mand.* iv. 2. 1 and elsewhere. Mr Jerram quotes the famous saying of Socrates that the most disgraceful ignorance is *ἡ τοῦ οἴεσθαι εἰδέναι ἃ οὐκ οἶδεν*, and his interpretation of the oracle which pronounced him the wisest of men, namely that he alone was conscious of his ignorance. So Philo *De Ebr.* § 40 (M. i. 382) *διττὸν δὲ τὸ ἀγνοίας γένος, τὸ μὲν ἁπλοῦν,*

ἡ παντελὴς ἀναισθησία, τὸ δὲ διπλοῦν, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἀνεπιστημοσύνῃ τις συνέχηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴηται εἰδέναι ἃ μηδαμῶς οἶδε δόξῃ ψευδεῖ σοφίας ἐπαιρόμενος. Of these evils the former is *ἔλαττον, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μεῖζον.*

ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ὦ ξένοι, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἐνδιατρίβετε 580
τοῖς λεγομένοις, μέχρις ἂν ἕξιν λάβητε. ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολλάκις δεῖ ἐπισκοπεῖν, καὶ μὴ διαλείπειν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάρεργα ἡγήσασθαι. εἰ δὲ μή, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ὑμῖν ἔσται ὧν νῦν ἀκούετε.

With *ἕξιν, habitus* (*c.* 345, 581, 715, 718) compare *Vis.* v. 5 *πρῶτον πάντων τὰς ἐντολάς μου γράψον καὶ τὰς παραβολάς... ἵνα ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἀναγινώσκῃς αὐτὰς καὶ δυνηθῇς φυλάξαι αὐτάς.* Hermas uses *ἐπισκοπεῖν* (*c.* 582) in *Vis.* iii. 5. 1, and *διαλείπειν* (*c.* 582) in *Vis.* iv. 3. 6, *Mand.* ix. 8 *σὺ οὖν μὴ διαλίπῃς.* Corresponding to *c.* 583 *πάρεργα* he has *ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα μωρά ἐστι καὶ κενὰ καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ ἀσύμφορα τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ* (*Mand.* v. 2. 2).

c. 585 f. *πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθά ;*] *Vis.* iii. 13. 2 *ἰδόντες ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθά, Sim.* ix. 10. 1 *τοιαῦτα ἀγαθὰ βλέπων,* possibly with allusion to the *Tabula,* in which *ἀγαθά* is a prominent word in connexion with the question, what is really good?

XXXVIII. Π. *ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τὸ ζῆν, καὶ τοῖς καλῶς ζῶσι καὶ τοῖς κακῶς, οὐκ ἂν εἴη οὔτε ἀγαθὸν τὸ ζῆν οὔτε κακόν· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ τέμνειν καὶ καίειν ἐν τοῖς ἀρρωστοῦσίν ἐστι νοσερὸν καὶ ὑγιεινόν,* 620
ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς τέμνειν.

Some things are commonly assumed to be good or evil which in the abstract are neither the one nor the other. Hermas has much to say in attestation of this.

Mand. vi. begins, *Ἐνετειλάμην σοι, φησίν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐντολῇ ἵνα φυλάξῃς τὴν* ΠΙΣΤΙΝ *καὶ τὸν* ΦΟΒΟΝ *καὶ τὴν* ΕΓΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ. The Shepherd goes on to explain that these are twofold in character and may be of good or evil tendency, *διπλαῖ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐνέργειαι αὐτῶν· κεῖνται οὖν ἐπὶ δικαίῳ καὶ ἀδίκῳ· σὺ οὖν πίστευε τῷ δικαίῳ, τῷ δὲ ἀδίκῳ* ΜΗ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗΣ (1. 1—2). A man should have no faith in *Τύχη* or the Vices (*c.* 117, 484, 517).

Mand. vii. enjoins right φόβος. Fear the Lord and not the devil. 3. φοβήθητι δὲ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι πονηρά ἐστι. φοβούμενος οὖν τὸν Κύριον φοβηθήσῃ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ οὐκ ἐργάσῃ αὐτά, ἀλλ' ἀφέξῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 4. Δισσοὶ οὖν εἰσιν οἱ φόβοι· ἐὰν γὰρ θέλῃς τὸ πονηρὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν Κύριον καὶ οὐκ ἐργάσῃ αὐτό· ἐὰν δὲ θέλῃς πάλιν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, φοβοῦ τὸν Κύριον καὶ ἐργάσῃ αὐτό. ὥστε ὁ φόβος τοῦ Κυρίου ἰσχυρός ἐστι καὶ μέγας καὶ ἔνδοξος. Plato *Laws* I (647 A) Τούτους δὴ δύο ἔλεγον φόβους κ.τ.λ. may have suggested the like to Hermas.

Mand. viii. 1 Εἶπόν σοι, φησίν, ὅτι τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ Θεοῦ διπλᾶ ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἐγκράτεια ΔΙΠΛΗ ἐστίν. ἐπί τινων γὰρ δεῖ ἐγκρατεύεσθαι κ.τ.λ. Aristotle *Eth. Nic.* IV. *fin.* Οὐκ ἔστι δ' οὐδ' ἡ ἐγκράτεια ἀρετή, ἀλλά τις μικτή. In volume XXVII. 301, 316 it was shewn that Hermas makes τρυφή, ἡδονή, λύπη twofold. So at the end of *Sim.* i. he writes, αὕτη ἡ ΠΟΛΥΤΕΛΕΙΑ καλὴ καὶ ἱλαρά, λύπην μὴ ἔχουσα μηδὲ φόβον, ἔχουσα δὲ χαράν. τὴν οὖν πολυτέλειαν τῶν ἐθνῶν μὴ πράσσετε· ἀσύμφορον γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν τοῖς δούλοις τοῦ Θεοῦ· τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν πολυτέλειαν πράσσετε, κ.τ.λ.

c. 621 ἀλλὰ τὸ πῶς τέμνειν] This is applied to stones for the tower which do not at first fit in. They must be cut in a certain way and τεχνικῶς, cf. Plato *Charm.* p. 173. *Sim.* ix. 9. 2 ταύτην τὴν ΤΕΧΝΗΝ οὐκ ἔχω, οὐδὲ λατόμος εἰμί.

c. 625 ἢ ἀποθανεῖν] Better than to live κακῶς is to die καλῶς and ἀνδρείως, a word used by Hermas in *Sim.* ix. 2 (p. 28). In respect of death as not an evil the Christian allegory naturally goes beyond the Πίναξ, in which the field of view is limited to the present life. We have already found a reference to *c.* 627 f. αἱρετώτερόν ἐστι πολλάκις τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν in *Vis.* iv. 2. 6 αἱρετώτερον ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ μὴ γεννηθῆναι. *Vis.* iii. 1. 9 awards the places on the right hand to the martyrs who have suffered εἵνεκα τοῦ ὀνόματος, and these are they who in *Sim.* viii. 3. 6 go forthwith crowned to the tower.

c. 631 πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ συμφέρει ὑγιαίνειν] *Sim.* vii. 5 σοὶ δὲ συμφέρον ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ σου νῦν θλιβῆναι.

c. 642 (cf. 26) *σπουδαίους*] Not wealth but Παιδεία makes men *σπουδαίους*. *Vis.* iii. 1. 2 *σπουδαῖος εἰς τὸ γνῶναι πάντα.*

c. 654 *εἰ μέν τις ἐπίσταται τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι*] Cf. Plato *Euthydem.* p. 289 on *τὸ ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι*. *Sim.* i., on the Two Cities, is a homily on *τῷ πλούτῳ χρῆσθαι* (3 *χρᾶσαι*, 4 *χρῶ*, 6 *χρήσῃ*) in the sense, *ποιήσατε φίλους ἐκ τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*. *Sim.* ii., on the Elm and the Vine, is on the same subject. The rich has worldly wealth, *τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον πτωχεύει περισπώμενος* (*c.* 533) *περὶ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ*. The poor is *πλούσιος ἐν τῇ ἐντεύξει*. Let each spend his wealth upon the other. It is acceptable to God that the rich *συνῆκεν* (*c.* 544 *συνήκαμεν*) *ἐπὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ* (5—7).

Sim. v. on *νηστεία* contains like teaching. The slave when he had received *ἐδέσματα* from the Master's table, *τὰ ἀρκοῦντα αὐτῷ ἦρε, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ τοῖς συνδούλοις αὐτοῦ διέδωκεν*, and they pray for him *ἵνα χάριν μείζονα εὕρῃ παρὰ τῷ δεσπότῃ* (2. 9—10). The notion that great wealth is a spiritual stumbling-block runs through the *Pastor*.

Wealth according to its use may be *ἀγαθόν* or *βλαβερόν* (*c.* 133, 586, 605). *Vis.* iii. 9. 4, 6 *αὕτη οὖν ἡ ἀσυνκρασία* βλαβερὰ *ὑμῖν τοῖς ἔχουσιν καὶ μὴ μεταδιδοῦσιν τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις...βλέπετε οὖν ὑμεῖς οἱ γαυρούμενοι ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ ὑμῶν, μήποτε στενάξουσιν οἱ ὑστερούμενοι, καὶ ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν ἀναβήσεται πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ἐκκλεισθήσεσθε μετὰ τῶν* [*ἀσχέτων*] ἀγαθῶν *ὑμῶν ἔξω τῆς θύρας τοῦ πύργου*. Cf. *Sim.* vi. 5. 6 *τρυφαὶ* βλαβεραί, 7 *τρυφαὶ σώζουσαι* (p. 301).

c. 662 f. *διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἄγνοιαν*] See again Plato for the doctrine that all wrong-doing comes of ignorance. They do not know that *οὐ γίγνεται ἐκ κακῶν ἀγαθόν* (*c.* 663), *οἷον λέγω ἐκ τοῦ προδιδόναι* (*c.* 665). *Vis.* ii. 2. 2 *καὶ προέδωκαν τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐν πονηρίᾳ μεγάλῃ. καὶ ἤκουσαν προδόται γονέων, καὶ προδόντες οὐκ* (*al. om. οὐκ*) *ὠφελήθησαν.*

c. 719 *Quodsi de aliquo*] The *ἐξήγησις* (*c.* 32, 37) of the Πίναξ ends at *c.* 525 *τοιοῦτος ἡμῖν ἐστιν*, but it is added that the interpreter is ready to answer questions, and accordingly an epilogue of several chapters follows. At the end of the *Tabula* again there is a promise to solve any remaining doubts.

This also is imitated in the *Pastor*. Thus we read in *Vis.* iii. 7. 4 *ἐτέλεσεν τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ πύργου*, but further questions are at once asked and answered. At the end of *Vis.* iii. it is said, *ἀπέχεις ὁλοτελῆ τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν· μηκέτι μηδὲν αἰτήσεις περὶ ἀποκαλύψεως, ἐάν τι δὲ δέῃ, ἀποκαλυφθήσεταί σοι.* In *Mand.* xii. again pages of dialogue follow the conclusion in 3. 2 *Συνετέλεσεν οὖν τὰς ἐντολὰς τὰς δώδεκα κ.τ.λ.*

CONCLUSION.

Some of the following observations on a few of the parallels between the *Pastor* and the *Tabula* will serve to bring out the special *a priori* method of the comparison of them here and in section B (vol. XXVII. 288—319) of the former article on HERMAS AND CEBES.

B. §§ 1, 4] Beginning with the *Tabula* we look for things in it which would have been noticed by Hermas, and then for traces of them in the *Pastor*.

Very noteworthy is chap. II. of Cebes with its comparison of his myth to the story of the Sphinx,

ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ἐξήγησις ἐοικυῖα τῷ τῆς Σφιγγὸς αἰνίγματι, ὃ ἐκείνη προεβάλλετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ συνίει τις, ἐσώζετο· εἰ δὲ μὴ συνίει, ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγός. ὡσαύτως δὲ κ.τ.λ. 40

Three or four allusions to this chapter have been found in the *Pastor* (pp. 290, 298—9), which also repeatedly asks or answers the question *τί ἀγαθὸν κ.τ.λ.* (*c.* 42); as in *Mand.* vi. 2. 2, 3, 6 (with allusion to *c.* 39 *συνίει*, 44 *συνίῃ*) *Πῶς οὖν, φημί, κύριε, γνώσομαι τὰς αὐτῶν ἐνεργείας, ὅτι ἀμφότεροι ἄγγελοι μετ' ἐμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν; Ἄκουε, φησί, καὶ* CΥΝΙΕ *αὐτάς...*CΥΝΙΕ *αὐτὰς καὶ πίστευε τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης.* In the case of *Vis.* i.—iii. Hermas might be thought to shew acquaintance merely with the enigma,

Ἔστι δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον κ.τ.λ.,

but elsewhere he refers to words of Cebes about the Sphinx.

B. §§ 2, 5, 9] The indebtedness of Hermas to the *Tabula* extends to words and phrases sometimes taken apart from their contexts. On *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 *ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν* (p. 294) the commentators merely quote 2 Pet. ii. 2, 15 *ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ἀληθείας βλασφημηθήσεται...καταλιπόντες κ.τ.λ.* Ἀληθινή being of infrequent occurrence as an epithet of the Way, there is a variant *τὴν ἀληθῆ* for *αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν* in the *Pastor*, cf. Isaiah lxv. 2. In the parallels in the Πίναξ (*c.* 98, 233, cf. 401) men do not forsake but fail finally or for a while to find the true Way.

His way of gathering up the fragments of a phrase which he cannot or will not appropriate in its entirety is illustrated by the use he makes of *c.* 221 f. *αἱ δοκοῦσαι περιτρέχειν* (p. 302). Speaking of the Virgins he uses περιτρέχειν but not of them, and he calls the cardinal Virgins αἱ δοκοῦσαι *δυναταὶ εἶναι* in the same context.

The connexion between *φορτίον* in the *Pastor* and *φορτία* in the *Tabula* (p. 314) is not apparent until we begin with the latter and seek for some allusion in it to the *ὥσπερ αἱ νῆες* of the former. We then find that Hermas has ingeniously reproduced the idea of Cebes, dropping *νῆες* which he could not bring in, but retaining the word *φορτίον* and its connotation in the *Tabula* (*c.* 470).

B. §§ 3, 9] Τύχη being a leading character in the Πίναξ, we find covert allusions to her in the *Pastor* where she could not appear without disguise. Her three epithets *τυφλή, μαινομένη, κωφή* in *c.* 104 f. seem to be paraphrased in the same order in *Mand.* x. 1 (p. 295). Thus *Hermae Pastor* is an authority for the text of the Πίναξ.

A simple comparison of *c.* xxxi. with *Mand.* iii. (p. 315) does not suggest that Hermas has borrowed from Cebes. But if he made all the use he could of the *Tabula* he must have alluded somehow to this remarkable chapter; and this he appears in fact to have done, disguising his allusion with words from Philo and working in also the saying of the Διδαχή and Clem. Alex. that lying leads to theft.

B. § 6] Hesiod on the ways to Vice and Virtue (p. 302)

is cited also by Plato and Philo in contexts which would have been known to Hermas. In Philo *De Ebr.* § 36 (M. i. 380) the quotation comes in thus,

> *πρῶτον μέν γε* σκληρὰν ἡμέραν (1 Sam. i. 15) *εἶπεν ἑαυτὴν πρὸς τὸ χλευάζον ἀπιδοῦσα παιδάριον—τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ παντὶ ἄφρονι τραχεῖα* καὶ* δύσβατος *καὶ ἀργαλεωτάτη νενόμισται ἡ ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγουσα ὁδός, καθὰ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τις ἐμαρτύρησεν εἰπών·*
>
> *τὴν μέντοι κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἔστιν ἑλέσθαι.*
> *τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς κ.τ.λ.*

Hermas paraphrases this in *Mand.* xii. regarding his *ἐντολαί* as the way to walk in, thus, *Ἔχεις τὰς ἐντολὰς ταύτας· πορεύου ἐν αὐταῖς* (3. 2)...*Ἄφρον, ἀσύνετε καὶ δίψυχε* (4. 2)...*δύναται, φησί,* [*πάντων καὶ*] *πασῶν τῶν ἐντολῶν τούτων κατακυριεῦσαι ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἔχων τὸν Κύριον ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν ἔχοντες τὸν Κύριον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν αὐτῶν πεπωρωμένην, καὶ μακρὰν ὄντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐκείνοις αἱ ἐντολαὶ αὗται* σκληραί *εἰσι καὶ* δύσβατοι (4. 3—4). He then goes on to say that there is nothing ἡμερώτερον than these commandments, possibly taking the word from Plato *Laws* iv (718 d), where it is used in a passage on *νομοθεσία* illustrated by the same passage from Hesiod.

The Epilogue] The reference to Plato in *c.* 532 sends Hermas to the dialogue quoted and accounts for *αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐχόρευον κ.τ.λ.* in *Sim.* ix. 11.

There are other things in the *Laws* than those noticed above to which Hermas perhaps alludes in the *Pastor.* Thus of the greater and less stones for the tower we read in *Sim.* ix. 7. 5 (cf. 8. 5—6) *Πῶς, φημί, κύριε, δύνανται περικοπέντες τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον πληρῶσαι; ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει μοι· Ὅσοι* μικροὶ *εὑρεθήσονται εἰς μέσην τὴν οἰκοδομὴν βληθήσονται, ὅσοι δὲ* μείζονες, *ἐξώτεροι τεθήσονται καὶ συγκρατήσουσιν αὐτούς.* The writer is thinking of course of the well known proverb

* Hesiod in one of the lines quoted, *καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον.* Sir. vi. 20 of Wisdom, *ὡς τραχεῖά ἐστι σφόδρα τοῖς ἀπαιδεύτοις* (Heb. לאויל, *τῷ ἄφρονι*), *καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ ἐν αὐτῇ ἀκάρδιος.*

embodied in the lines of Sophocles (*Aj.* 158 f.) which Jacobson quotes on Clem. R. § 37,

> καίτοι σμικροὶ μεγάλων χωρὶς
> σφαλερὸν πύργου ῥῦμα πέλονται.
> μετὰ γὰρ μεγάλων βαιὸς ἄριστ' ἂν
> καὶ μέγας ὀρθοῖθ' ὑπὸ μικροτέρων.

But the attention of Hermas may have been called to the saying by *Laws* X. (902 E) οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνευ σμικρῶν τοὺς μεγάλους φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους εὖ κεῖσθαι.

In the same book of the *Laws* (891 A) Plato remarks upon the helpfulness of having the προστάγματα of the νόμοι settled in writing, ὥστε οὔτ' εἰ χαλεπὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀκούειν ἐστί, φοβητέον, ἅ γ' ἔσται καὶ τῷ δυσμαθεῖ (*Sim.* ix. 22. 1 δυσμαθεῖς) πολλάκις ἐπανιόντι σκοπεῖν κ.τ.λ. *Vis.* v. 5 πρῶτον πάντων τὰς ἐντολάς μου ΓΡΑΨΟΝ κ.τ.λ. (p. 30).

As Plato in *Laws* XI. discourses on cheating and falsehood in trade and writes ὁ δὲ πολίτης μὴ ἐλέγχων μὲν ὡς ἀποστερῶν τοὺς θεοὺς κακὸς ἀγορευέσθω (917 D), so Hermas in *Mand.* iii. 2, 5 οἱ οὖν ψευδόμενοι κ.τ.λ. γίνονται ἀποστερηταὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, and ἵνα καὶ τὰ πρότερον ἃ ἐλάλησας ψεύδη ἐν ταῖς πραγματείαις σου κ.τ.λ.

Plato makes repeated mention of the Great King, and Hermas writes in *Vis.* iii. 9. 8 ἵνα σχῆτε ἔλεος παρὰ τοῦ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ. Hermas again follows or agrees with Plato in regarding great wealth or the pursuit of it as a hindrance to spirituality.

To go back now to the beginning, we find in early μυθολογίαι on Virtue and Vice the germ of much in the *Tabula* and the *Pastor* with their arrays of abstract *dramatis personae*, and the question at once arises, Are these developments parallel or successive?

If the *Tabula* had not been extant, it might have sufficed to say that Hermas worked up the old ethical myths under the influence in great measure of Philo, in whose exegesis persons stand for qualities or tendencies, as in *De Cherub.* § 12 (M. i. 146) αἱ γὰρ τούτοις συνοικοῦσαι ΛΟΓΩ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΕΣ ἔργῳ δὲ

ἀρεταί, Σάρρα μὲν ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονίς, Ῥεβέκκα δὲ ἐπιμονὴ τῶν καλῶν, Λεία δὲ ἀνανενευμένη καὶ κοπιῶσα ἐπὶ τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἀσκήσεως, ἣν ἐκνένευκε καὶ ἀποστρέφεται πᾶς ἄφρων ἀρνούμενος, Σεπφώρα δὲ ἡ Μωυσέως ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνατρέχουσα καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ θείας καὶ εὐδαίμονας φύσεις κατανοοῦσα, καλεῖται δὲ ὀρνίθιον.

At the end of *Quod Det. Potiori* (M. i. 224) he writes with reference to Cain, οὐ γὰρ θάνατον αὐτοῦ διὰ πάσης τῆς νομοθεσίας δεδήλωκεν αἰνιττόμενος ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἡ μεμυθευμένη Σκύλλα, κακὸν ἀθάνατόν ἐστιν ἀφροσύνη.

But a careful analysis of the *Pastor* shews in it an intricate and artificial correspondence with *Cebetis Tabula*, which I can only account for on the hypothesis that Hermas used the *Tabula* with necessary variations as materials for his Christian allegory, further disguising his use of it by an admixture of words and ideas from other sources and by inversions and other intentional changes.

He makes the same unacknowledged use of other books, as of the Old Testament with which he shews acquaintance repeatedly, but *Vis.* ii. 3. 4 ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἐλδὰδ καὶ Μωδάτ is his only express reference to any actual writing whatsoever as one of his sources.

A good instance of necessary deviation from the Πίναξ has been pointed out in B. § 9 (p. 311). The crowned climber in the allegory of ὁ Βίος, the present life, is led back by the Virtues πρὸς τὸν τόπον ὅθεν ἦλθε πρῶτον, whereas in the *Pastor* the pilgrim's final destination μακράν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης (*Sim.* i. 1). But in many cases Hermas quotes with variations for which there is no such necessity.

When an idea or an expression strikes him he rings the changes upon it and repeats it in different parts of his work, as was shewn in the case of ἀνοδία in B. § 6 (p. 302 f.)*. This makes for the unity of the *Pastor*, which some have called in question.

In conclusion I think it may be said, with due allowance

* In line 3 of page 304 *read* ἐτέθησαν (*for* -εσαν), and at the end of page 308 *read* Sister (*for* Second) to Ἐπιστήμη is Ἐγκράτεια.

for the essential difference of the two writings, that the author of *Hermae Pastor* "makes some sort of use of everything noteworthy in the *Tabula* that he can contrive to bring into his Christian allegory."

PHILO] We have seen reason to think that Hermas borrowed from Philo. Of the Church it is said in *Vis.* ii. 4. 1 Διατί οὖν πρεσβυτέρα; Ὅτι, φησίν, πάντων πρώτη ἐκτίσθη, with allusion perhaps to *Leg. Allegor.* II. § 1 (M. i. 67) ὁ δὲ θεὸς πρεσβύτερος κόσμου καὶ δημιουργός.

Sim. i. 1, 6 makes the world a ξένη πόλις in imitation of *De Cherub.* § 34 (M. i. 161) ἕκαστος γὰρ ἡμῶν ὥσπερ εἰς ξένην πόλιν ἀφῖκται τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, ἧς πρὸ γενέσεως οὐ μετεῖχε, καὶ ἀφικόμενος παροικεῖ, κ.τ.λ., cf. Heb. xi. 13 ξένοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, xiii. 14 οὐ γὰρ ἔχομεν ὧδε μένουσαν πόλιν.

Philo is commenting upon Lev. xxv. 23, and he goes on to say, πράσει, φησίν, οὐ πραθήσεται ἡ γῆ...εὑρήσεις τοίνυν σκοπῶν ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς λεγομένους χαρίζεσθαι πιπράσκοντας μᾶλλον ἢ δωρουμένους καὶ οὓς οἰόμεθα λαμβάνειν χάριτας πρὸς ἀληθειαν ὠνουμένους. God is the only real Giver and truly δωρητικός. Other "givers" are really vendors, ἀμοιβὴν ἔπαινον ἢ τιμὴν θηρώμενοι, and those who receive μελετῶντες ἀποδοῦναι are purchasers. With allusion to this *inter alia* Hermas (with one of his customary inversions) represents the almsgiver as buying souls and investing his wealth in estates in the world to come (*Sim.* i. 8, 9), and the poor as having a wealth of his own with which he pays for doles received from the rich (*Sim.* ii. 5 f.).

Whatever is remarkable in the *Pastor* seems to be some thought of another which Hermas has made his own.

C. TAYLOR.

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EMENDATIONES HOMERICAE (OD. XVII—XIX).

ρ 22 *ἀλλ' ἔρχευ· ἐμὲ δ' ἄξει ἀνὴρ ὅδε, τὸν σὺ κελεύεις,*
αὐτίκ', ἐπεί κε πυρὸς θερέω ἀλέη τε γένηται.

The form *θερέω* in l. 23, if it be carefully considered, is more than a little surprising. To begin with it is quite unique, yet its acceptance seems inevitable, for there is no variant save the still more impossible *θερεῶ* of Flor. Laur. 52, corrected indeed into *θερέω* by the second hand and probably merely a slip of the copyist. Now let us see what grammatical explanation has been given of this *θερέω*. We are told it is the subjunctive of a 2 aor. pass. *ἐθέρην*, a form itself entirely unknown, a mere figment in fact devised to meet the requirements of this passage, and moreover probably quite incapable—even granting the possibility of its existence—of giving *θερέω* in Homer. The true form of the subjunctive would rather be *θερείω* after the analogy of *δαμείω*, *δαείω* from *ἐδάμην*, *ἐδάην* respectively.

Accordingly without being guilty of any very precipitate scepticism we may venture to repudiate *θερέω* altogether as corrupt and look for some other solution of the problem presented by the tradition. Let us begin by reviewing the usage of Homer with respect to this verb *θέρομαι*, 'I am warmed.' Here we have, I believe, all the passages:—

Z 331 *ἀλλ' ἄνα, μὴ τάχα ἄστυ πυρὸς δηίοιο θέρηται.*
Λ 666 *ἦ μένει, εἰς ὅ κε δὴ νῆες θοαὶ ἄγχι θαλάσσης*
Ἀργείων ἀέκητι πυρὸς δηίοιο θέρωνται,—;
τ 64 *νήησαν ξύλα πολλὰ φόως ἔμεν ἠδὲ θέρεσθαι.*
506 *αὖτις ἄρ' ἀσσοτέρω πυρὸς ἕλκετο δίφρον Ὀδυσσεὺς*
θερσόμενος, οὐλὴν δὲ κατὰ ῥακέεσσι κάλυψε.

In τ 64 we may notice that the true reading φάος τ' ἔμεν is supplied in Etym. Mag. 565, 39 and practically (τε μέν) in Etym. Gud. 16, 3, but not apparently by any MS. of the Odyssey. θερσόμενος in l. 507 is paralleled by διαφθέρσει (N 625), but is hardly sufficient to justify the suggestion of θέρσωμ' (van L. and da C. in note) for our passage instead of θερέω.

The peculiarity of the second foot in τ 507, I do not hesitate to say, is in all probability the result of a bold transposition, designed to save the elision of the ι of ῥακέεσσι (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVI p. 146 f., XXVII p. 170 and p. 201), the original arrangement having been:—

θερσόμενος, κατὰ δὲ ῥακέεσσ' οὐλὴν ἐκάλυψε.

Apart from the change of the order of the words nothing is altered here save κάλυψε, which now appears as ἐκάλυψε—a slight matter, which van L. and da C., who indeed print ῥακέεσσ' ἐκάλυψε according to their custom, would accept without demur, though οἱ περὶ Prof. Platt might, I fear, be disposed to raise an objection to the augment.

To return to our passage, it is evident that the natural and most regular word instead of the disputable θερέω would be θέρωμαι, and this I propose to reinstate simply enough thus:—

αὐτίκ', ἐπεί κε πυρός τε θέρωμ' ἀλέη τε γένηται.

It would perhaps be sufficient to suggest that ΘΕΡΕΟ is merely an accidental mutilation of ΤΕΘΕΡΟ, but apart from such a possibility, on which I lay no stress, the disappearance of τε in this position is susceptible of illustration not only from τ 66, already quoted, but also from the far more apposite and effective instance of λ 403:—

ἠὲ περὶ πτόλιός τε μαχούμενοι ἠδὲ γυναικῶν,

where the loss of the particle, as I have shown good reason to believe, has resulted, as here, in the development of a unique and altogether unacceptable verbal form, μαχεούμενος, v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVII pp. 19—21. There is little need to insist on the danger which always attended elided forms like θέρωμ' for θέρωμαι in the Homeric text. Enough has been said not only

to indicate the ease with which our unsatisfactory *θερέω* might be developed, but also to provide something more than a colourable excuse for the suggestion of *τε θέρωμ'*.

With respect to the beginning of l. 22, *ἀλλ' ἔρχευ· ἐμὲ δ'*—, which is faulty both by reason of the contraction of *ἔρχεο* and because of the hiatus, a simpler and more likely original than either of the two propounded by van Leeuwen and da Costa:—

ἔρχεο· αὐτὰρ ἔμ' (Text)
ἀλλ' ἴθι· αὐτὰρ ἔμ' (Note)

would be:—

ἀλλ' ἔρχεσθ'· ἐμὲ δ'.

The infinitive for the imperative is Homeric enough. The imperative would come in inevitably as a gloss, nor can the supersession of the ambiguous *ἔρχεσθ'* be much wondered at; but why any one should have desired to alter either of the two readings suggested by the learned Dutch editors, is not by any means apparent.

*

ρ 364 *ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς τιν' ἔμελλ' ἀπαλεξήσειν κακότητος.*

Athene had prompted Odysseus to beg alms from the several suitors, so that he might learn which were righteous and kindly men and which were hard and cruel—rather a superfluous piece of discrimination perhaps, for as the line quoted scrupulously informs us, it did not enter into her design to save any one of them from his evil fate, that is, the death penalty shortly to be inflicted upon them by the outraged Odysseus.

Now in order to judge fairly the construction found above, *ἀπαλεξήσειν τινα κακότητος*, let us examine as fully as may be necessary the usage of *ἀλέξω* in Homer. To begin with we find:—

Γ 9 *ἐν θυμῷ μεμαῶτες ἀλεξέμεν ἀλλήλοισιν.*
Ε 779 *ἀνδράσιν Ἀργείοισιν ἀλεξέμεναι μεμαυῖαι·*
Ζ 109 *Τρωσὶν ἀλεξήσοντα—*
Χ 196 *εἴ πώς οἱ καθύπερθεν ἀλάλκοιεν βελέεσσιν,—*

These instances make clear the use of the *dative* to indicate

the person protected. We may now proceed to the *accusative* expressing the evil, against which the protection is given :—

I 605 *οὐκέθ' ὁμῶς τιμῆς ἔσεαι πόλεμόν περ ἀλάλκων.*

It may be well here to remark that the reading *τιμῆς* = *τιμήεις* is a wild absurdity of the scholia—they abound in such—altogether unworthy of the measure of favour, which in some quarters it has managed to secure. It is only needful to realise that *ὁμῶς ἔσεαι* means 'you will be on a like footing,' and nothing could be more natural than the addition of *τιμῆς*, 'in respect of honour,' cf. *πῶς ἀγῶνος ἥκομεν* (Eur. *El.* 751), *ὥς τις...εὐνοίας ἢ μνήμης ἔχοι* (Thuc. 1. 22). Dr Leaf says the gen. is impossible here: but this is clearly too hasty a conclusion. It is perhaps desirable to add for the benefit of the youthful reader, that in Homer *εἰμί*, and not *ἔχω* as in later Greek, is usual with adverbs. Of course in Σ 475 *καὶ χρυσὸν τιμῆντα* the true reading is *χρυσὸν τιμήεντα* without *καί* (Knight).

To return to *ἀλέξω*:—

Ψ 185 *ἀλλὰ κύνας μὲν ἄλαλκε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη—*
(ἄλεξε)?
Φ 539 *ἀντίος ἐξέθορε, Τρώων ἵνα λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι.*

In this last line *Τρώων* probably represents an original *Τρώεσσ'*, as will appear later.

Φ 548 *ἔστη, ὅπως θανάτοιο βαρείας κῆρας ἀλάλκοι,—*
γ 346 *Ζεὺς τό γ' ἀλεξήσειε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.*

We now come to those passages in which we have the dat. and acc. in combination. I first quote that which bears upon and helps to strengthen the suggested improvement of Φ 539.

Φ 138 *δῖον Ἀχιλλῆα, Τρώεσσι δὲ λοιγὸν ἀλάλκοι* = Φ 250.
I 251 *φράζευ, ὅπως Δαναοῖσιν ἀλεξήσεις κακὸν ἦμαρ.*
347 *φραζέσθω νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δήϊον πῦρ.*
674 *ἤ ῥ' ἐθέλει νήεσσιν ἀλεξέμεναι δήϊον πῦρ,—*
P 365 *ἀλλήλοις καθ' ὅμιλον ἀλεξέμεναι φόνον αἰπύν.*
153 *νῦν δ' οὔ οἱ ἀλαλκέμεναι κύνας ἔτλης.*
T 30 *τῷ μὲν ἐγὼ πειρήσω ἀλαλκεῖν ἄγρια φῦλα—*

γ 237 *ἀλλ' ἤ τοι θάνατον μεν ὁμοίϊον οὐδὲ θεοί περ*
καὶ φίλῳ ἀνδρὶ δύνανται ἀλαλκέμεν,—
δ 166 *οὐδέ οἱ ἄλλοι*
εἵσ' οἵ κεν κατὰ δῆμον ἀλάλκοιεν κακότητα.

Here we have to notice that the noun (*κακότητα*) is the same as in ρ 364, the line under discussion.

κ 288 *ἔρχευ, ὅ κέν τοι κρατὸς ἀλάλκῃσιν κακὸν ἦμαρ.*

The gen. here is totally different from that in ρ 364, and we may furthermore have some suspicion that *τ' ἀπὸ κρατός*, cf. θ 92, μ 99, may have been the original reading.

ν 319 *ὅπως τί μοι ἄλγος ἀλάλκοις.*

The middle voice might perhaps be omitted; but N 475

—ἀλέξασθαι μεμαὼς κύνας ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρας·

and σ 62 *τοῦτον ἀλέξασθαι,—* make the list complete, so far as the usage of our verb when followed by any noun or pronoun is concerned.

It may be said that I have illustrated *ἀλέξω* but not *ἀπαλέξω*, of which the construction might possibly be different. Let us see then what is the evidence afforded by the Homeric text:—

X 348 *ὡς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὃς σῆς γε κύνας κεφαλῆς ἀπαλάλκοι.*

which is practically identical with κ 288 above.

Ω 371 *καὶ δέ κεν ἄλλον*
σεῦ ἀπαλεξήσαιμι·

δ 766 *μνηστῆρας δ' ἀπάλαλκε κακῶς ὑπερηνορέοντας.*

To exhibit the whole usage of this verb and its compounds we need only add Θ 365 *τῷ ἐπαλεξήσουσαν* and Λ 428 *τῷ ἐπαλεξήσων.*

It appears then that there is not an atom of real support elsewhere for the construction *ἀπαλεξήσειν τινα κακότητος.* It stands alone and cannot be regarded as tolerable in face of the above evidence. Surely to any one not afflicted with an infatuated affection for solecism, or unprepared to ignore the unsophisticated simplicity and directness of Homer's language

as distinguished from the varied elaboration of phrase practised by his great Roman rival—

> Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii:
> Nescis quid majus nascitur Iliade—

the conclusion is irresistible, that *κακότητα* ought to be read instead of *κακότητος*, even if the change were not supported by the evidence of any MS. whatever. As a matter of fact *κακότητα* is the reading of Flor. Laurent. 52 (F) and of Parisinus 2403 (D), two of the best authorities extant. This being so, *τιν'* is not for *τινά*, a mistaken idea which has undoubtedly caused the evolution of the now discredited *κακότητος*, but for *τινί*, which alone is correct here, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the later Greeks to recognise the possibility of such an elision. Moreover a further interesting conclusion may be drawn from the facts as here presented, viz. that the earliest texts in all probability had *τιν'* or indeed *τινί*—the elision being left to the reader—in every case, where the vulgate now shows *τῳ* with short quantity before a vowel, e.g. A 299 *οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ*, *ν* 308, M 328, N 327, *κ* 32, *υ* 297.

Not a little confirmatory of this idea is the fact that in two out of the three cases in which a dissyllabic *τεῳ* appears, the metre will allow *τινί*:—

Π 227 *οὔτε τεῳ σπένδεσκε θεῶν,—*
λ 502 *τῷ κέ τεῳ στύξαιμι μένος καὶ χεῖρας ἀάπτους,—*

The recalcitrant instance is:—

υ 114 *οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις.*

Many eminent scholars, I am well aware, would not hesitate to declare that here too the result of exchanging *τεῳ* for *τινί* would be for the fifth foot metrically satisfactory, cf. Monro *H. G.* § 373. Frankly I believe this opinion as to the variable quantity of the final *ι* of the dat. sing. is an error depending, so far as Homer is concerned, on a number of debased lines; but the discussion of this question now would be a lengthy matter and would take us too far afield. I have already been sufficiently discursive; so this very interesting and important point must be reserved for a more favourable opportunity. Under no

circumstances, however, should I be satisfied with such an ending as:—

τέρας νύ τινι τόδε φαίνεις.

Rhythm and metre alike—the diaeresis in the fourth foot must be noted as highly objectionable—would be better satisfied by the reading I here suggest as the probable original:—

τέρας νύ τιν' ἐκ τόδε φαίνεις. (*ἐκφαίνεις.*)

But even if we let the line stand as adverse, there is still quite sufficient justification for the remark against the Ionicism *τεῳ* and in favour of the regular *τινί* as the rightful occupant of its position in the Homeric poems.

To return for a moment to the main passage under discussion, *ρ* 364, it seems hardly possible that the vulgate should hitherto have entirely escaped suspicion, and I am pleased to find that both *τιν'* (*τινι*) and *κακότητα* appear to have occurred as possibilities—I have shown they are necessities—to van Leeuwen and da Costa, who give in a note with a query added *τιν' ἔμελλεν ἀλεξήσειν κακότητα*, while scrupulously leaving the text in all its traditional impurity.

*

ρ 365 *βῆ δ' ἴμεν αἰτήσων ἐνδέξια φῶτα ἕκαστον,*
πάντοσε χεῖρ' ὀρέγων, ὡς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἴη.

Here I impugn the participle *αἰτήσων* as a blot on the passage, and in spite of the practical unanimity of the MSS. in its favour—there is but one slight deviation from the vulgate, *ἴμεναι τισων* P, on which, suggestive though it is, no argument can well be based—I venture to maintain that the true reading is necessarily and indubitably:—

αἰτίζων.

The construction allows it: the meaning can hardly be satisfied without it. *αἰτέω* of course means 'I ask' or 'entreat' in the widest sense, *αἰτίζω* 'I beg' in what may be called the professional application of the word. This distinction may easily be verified for Homer. We have *αἰτέω* E 358, Z 176, N 365, X 295, Ω 292, *β* 387, *γ* 173, *ι* 354, *κ* 17, *υ* 74, *ω* 85, 337: *αἰτίζω* *δ* 651, *τ* 273, *ρ* 222, 228, 346, 351, 502, 558, *υ* 179,

182. In the compounds *ἐπαιτέω* and *ἀπαιτίζω* the same fundamental difference prevails. In Ψ 592 Antilochus with apologetic humbleness says to the indignant Menelaus:—

εἰ καί νύ κε οἴκοθεν ἄλλο
μεῖζον ἐπαιτήσειας,—

'make a greater *demand*,' whereas Telemachus in a different tone speaks thus:—

β 77 *τόφρα γὰρ ἂν κατὰ ἄστυ ποτιπτυσσοίμεθα μύθῳ*
χρήματ' ἀπαιτίζοντες ἕως κ' ἀπὸ πάντα δοθείη·

threatening to play the part of an importunate *beggar* in order to obtain restitution.

There is but one exception over and above that which I have challenged. It is this:—

σ 48 *αἰεὶ δ' αὖθ' ἡμῖν μεταδαίσεται, οὐδέ τιν' ἄλλον*
πτωχὸν ἔσω μίσγεσθαι ἐάσομεν αἰτήσοντα.

where of course *αἰτήσοντα* must be regarded as equally erroneous with *αἰτήσων* here (*ρ* 365), and replaced by the requisite *αἰτίζοντα*. There is in truth a further objection to this *αἰτήσοντα*, which *αἰτήσων* is not liable to; for there is, I believe, no other instance in Homer of *αἰτέω* used without an acc. of either the person or the thing.

Finally I would urge against both *αἰτήσων* and *αἰτήσοντα*, that in neither case is a future participle in the least degree necessary or natural. It is true, in the former case we have a verb of motion, in fact two verbs of motion, *βῆ ἴμεν*, but surely here the participle should describe, not so much the purpose, as the actual behaviour of Odysseus on this occasion, exactly as does *ὀρέγων* that immediately follows. A fairly close parallel may be found in Υ 36:—

Ἥφαιστος δ' ἅμα τοῖσι κίε σθένεϊ βλεμεαίνων,
χωλεύων,—

This doubling of participles is indeed quite a noticeable feature of Homer's style. As many as three participles in succession may be found in Δ 434—5.

In the second case the commonly accepted future participle involves the additional necessity of treating *μίσγεσθαι* as a verb of motion, not perhaps a difficult feat for a grammarian, except that ingenuity of this sort should only be resorted to, when something is gained by its exercise, not when, as here, success can only be detrimental to the passage. The point clearly is, that no other beggar-man was to be permitted to ply his trade among the suitors, and this *professional begging* must, as we have seen, be expressed by *αἰτίζω* not by *αἰτέω*.

*

ρ 378 *ἦ ὄνοσαι ὅτι τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι ἄνακτος.*

If the form *ὄνοσαι* here be right, *ὄνομαι* is a non-thematic verb like *δίδομαι* the mid. of *δίδωμι* (*ὄνομαι, ὄνοσαι, ὄνοται*). On the other hand if *ὄνοσαι* be corrupt, it is at least possible that *ὄνομαι* is thematic (*ὄνομαι, ὄνεαι, ὄνεται*). The indication of *οὔνεσθε* Ω 241 is towards the thematic classification—Buttmann however would there read *οὔνοσθε*, while *ὀνόσασθε* is attributed to Aristarchus—and I believe I am right in saying that *ὄνομαι* would be the solitary instance of a non-thematic deponent in *-ομαι*. The peculiar *ὤνατο* P 25 points to a present *ὄναμαι*, but here again we have the suggestion of error, and Bekker corrects to *ὤνοτο*. I will not press in the midst of so much uncertainty any objection to the formal validity of *ὄνοσαι*, but even so there is still something to be said against its right to appear in the present passage.

A very obvious objection to the line, as it stands, is the hiatus in the second foot, which is not claimed as licitus and cannot satisfactorily be defended by positing a consonantal sound before *ὅτι*. Of course the vulgate presents us with a few similar cases: Λ 758 *κέκληται· ὅθεν αὖτις*, for which I have suggested that *κέκλιθ'· ὅθεν πάλιν αὖτις* is the true original (*Journ. Phil* XXIV p. 282 f.): ξ 152 *ὡς νέεται Ὀδυσεύς*, where *ὥς κε νέηται Ὀδυσεύς* is most likely right (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVII p. 175). Again σ 272 *νὺξ δ' ἔσται, ὅτε δή* perhaps was primarily *νὺξ δ' ἔσεθ' ὁππότε δή*.

Moreover there is another objection to *ὄνοσαι* here, that the

context seems to make it indispensable, that the tense should be aorist and not present.

τίη δὲ σὺ τόνδε πόλινδε
ἤγαγες; οὐ ἄλις ἦμιν ἀλήμονές εἰσι καὶ ἄλλοι,
πτωχοὶ ἀνιηροί, δαιτῶν ἀπολυμαντῆρες;
ἦ ὄνοσαι ὅτι τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι ἄνακτος
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, σὺ δὲ καὶ προτὶ τόνδ' ἐκάλεσσας;

Note ἤγαγες and ἐκάλεσσας and also that the discontent, that prompted the invitation, must have not only preceded the invitation but in the view of the speaker, Antinous, would have disappeared with the arrival of the new gormandiser. These considerations tell very heavily against the present here: moreover in the parallel case, Ξ 95 = P 173, we have the aorist used:—

νῦν δέ σευ ὠνοσάμην πάγχυ φρένας, οἷον ἔειπες,

and supposing, as most people do, that Aristarchus was right, we may add:—

Ω 241 ἦ ὀνόσασθ' ὅτι μοι Κρονίδης Ζεὺς ἄλγε' ἔδωκε.

If the aorist be admissible in Ξ 95, P 173, it may be said to be still more so here, where the reference, as I have already stated, is to the opinion entertained by Eumelus at the time he invited, or was supposed to have invited, the beggar-man.

Add to this, that the aorist involves in the oldest writing no very serious departure from the traditional ONOCAI. The aorist would appear with unacknowledged elision as ONOCAO or with C doubled ONOCCAO. It is only with the introduction of Ω in the archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.), that we get a very marked visible differentiation of ὄνοσαι and ὠνόσ(σ)αο.

The restoration of the aor. to our line has however been made additionally difficult, because it necessitates the preliminary change of ὅτι to ὅ; but it may be noticed that the change suggested is, as it ought to be, in favour of the older usage, and that ὅ was bound to be glossed by ὅτι. The line would, if my argument prevail, stand thus:—

ἦ ὠνόσσα', ὅ τοι βίοτον κατέδουσι ἄνακτος—

"Didst thou think it not bad enough that those, who are gathered here, consume thy lord's substance," *σὺ δὲ καὶ προτὶ τόνδ' ἐκάλεσσας ;*

A word of warning is needed with respect to the meaning of *ὄνομαι*. The lexicons considerably overshoot the mark, when they give as equivalents, 'to insult,' 'blame,' 'reject,' 'scorn,' 'vituperate.' Such renderings absolutely destroy the fine irony inherent in the word. The synonym given in the scholia, *φαυλίζομαι*, conveys the real sense without all this exaggeration. The true meaning is 'to hold as a mere trifle,' 'to complain of as deficient,' 'to feel that only half-measures have been taken and that something more is required,' 'to regard as inadequate,' 'to be dissatisfied with the amount of,' 'to slight,' 'to disparage.'

But this error, serious as it is, is as nothing to that of Bergk (note on Theognis, l. 1189), who unaccountably accepts the absurd scholium *ὄνησιν ἔχετε* for Ω 241, and in consequence is forced to propose *ἦ ὄναται*, 'an te juvat?' here, and still worse *ἀνοίσεσθαι* in ε 358. This is not temperate reform but down-right revolution of the most mischievous character, enabling the impetuous to ignore rational argument and to flatter themselves that by exposing such vagaries they can discredit all conjectural emendation indiscriminately.

*

ρ 458 *ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,—*

What is the word *κηρόθι* here, is a fair question. It is answered with prompt conciseness by the Etym. Magn. *ἐκ τοῦ κῆρ ἐπίρρημα*, 'an adverb from *κῆρ*,' and this doctrine holds among all readers and critics of Homer from lexicographers downwards with perhaps the slight embellishment—it is hardly a variation—of 'locative case' or 'locative adverb from *κῆρ*.' But is it possible to give any explanation of the formation of *κηρόθι* from *κῆρ*? None whatever. As a derivative from *κῆρ* it would be an aberration, a freak, a miscreation, and even then an utterly needless and superfluous production at the best; for from *κῆρ* we have already *κῆρι*, an unexceptional dative,

freely used in Homer as a locative, e.g. Δ 53 *ἀπέχθωνται περὶ κῆρι*, ο 245 *ὃν περὶ κῆρι φίλει Ζεύς*—, Ι 117 *ὅν τε Ζεὺς κῆρι φιλήσῃ*. Δ 46 *τάων μοι περὶ κῆρι τιέσκετο Ἴλιος ἱρή*—. Now let us take a panoramic view of the usage of this curious *κηρόθι* in Homer.

Ι 300 *εἰ δέ τοι Ἀτρείδης μὲν ἀπήχθετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
Φ 136 *ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, ποταμὸς δὲ χολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
ι 480 *ὣς ἐφάμην, ὁ δ' ἔπειτα χολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον·*
ρ 458 *ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀντίνοος δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
σ 387 *ὣς ἔφατ', Εὐρύμαχος δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
χ 224 *ὣς φάτ', Ἀθηναίη δ' ἐχολώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
ε 284 *πόντον ἐπιπλώων· ὁ δ' ἐχώσατο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
λ 208 *ἕπτατ'· ἐμοὶ δ' ἄχος ὀξὺ γενέσκετο κηρόθι μᾶλλον,*
ο 370 *ἀγρόνδε προΐαλλε· φίλει δέ με κηρόθι μᾶλλον.*

The word occurs then twice in the Iliad and seven times in the Odyssey and always in combination with *μᾶλλον*, the two together forming in every instance the final dactyl and spondee of the verse. I find it also once in the Homeric Hymns:—

Hym. Ap. 138 — *φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μᾶλλον.*

There remains only an Hesiodic instance, Scut. Herc. 85:—

ἣ δίκη ἔσθ' ἱκέτῃσι, τίον δ' ἄρα κηρόθι μᾶλλον.

It may be mentioned that the suitability of *μᾶλλον* in some of these passages has been made the subject of discussion. Hermann, on Hym. Dem. 362, while admitting its right to stand in ι 480, λ 208, ρ 458, Hym. Ap. 138, regards it as redundant in Ι 300, Φ 136, ε 284, σ 387, χ 224. Nitzsch on ε 284 holds that *μᾶλλον* in all the passages has sufficient justification, as indeed it has, for in every case the feeling, whether of hatred, wrath, sorrow or love, was entertained before in a less degree. The point will be seen to be of some importance, when *κηρόθι* has to be dealt with. At present the argument against that word needs enforcing. Let us suppose for a moment that *κηρόθι* had been transmitted to us as an isolated word apart from all context or explanation, as it might have been. In that case any attempt to connect it with *κῆρ* would have been

received with incredulity and even derisive scorn; every one would have agreed that it was evidently and inevitably a locative from *κηρός* 'wax', just as *οἴκοθι*, *οὐρανόθι*, *ἄλλοθι* and *Ἰλιόθι* are from *οἶκος*, *οὐρανός*, *ἄλλος* and *Ἴλιος* respectively, and we should perhaps have dreamed about some Greek anticipation of our 'fly in the amber.' There would be a difficulty as to visibility in the new material no doubt, but that would be nothing compared to the present difficulty of seeing how *κηρόθι* can come from *κῆρ*. We may fairly then be more than a little sceptical with regard to *κηρόθι*, but, unless some account can be suggested of its origin in these passages, we might still be inclined to let our scepticism lie fallow and to adopt the principle of masterly inactivity inculcated in the oft-quoted words of Shakespeare:—

> "there's the respect that—
> Makes us rather bear those ills we have
> Than fly to others that we know not of."

The suggestion I have to make is that *κηρόθι* really conceals what is undoubtedly the natural word here, *κῆρι*: but if so, it must have been *κῆρι* with an elision of the *ι*, for so only would the later Greeks have had any motive at all for deserting the original reading. We have then to fill up, so as to make a dactyl and spondee:—

κῆρ'...μᾶλλον,

and here *μᾶλλον* is a very material help; for we find, that not only is *ἔτι μᾶλλον* a frequent combination in other positions in the Homeric hexameter, but on no less than seven occasions forms the ending of the line (I 678, Ξ 97, T 231, Φ 305, *β* 202, *σ* 347, *υ* 285). The inference is that the original reading instead of the traditional *κηρόθι μᾶλλον* was in every case:—

κῆρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον,

which should be at once restored, *κηρόθι* being condemned as a pure barbarism, a fond thing vainly invented, and accepted as an archaism, only because it served so well to remove out of sight and out of mind a distasteful elision.

*

ρ 544 ἔρχεό μοι, τὸν ξεῖνον ἐναντίον ὧδε κάλεσσον.
οὐχ ὁράᾳς ὅ μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσι ἔπεσσι;
τῷ κε καὶ οὐκ ἀτελὴς θάνατος μνηστῆρσι γένοιτο
πᾶσι μάλ', οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει.
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν·
αἴ κ' αὐτὸν γνώω νημερτέα πάντ' ἐνέποντα,
ἕσσω μιν χλαῖνάν τε χιτῶνά τε, εἵματα καλά.

In the above little speech addressed to Eumaeus by Penelope there is no special difficulty about the general sense, but before dealing with the one serious flaw in the passage, as I view it, I will briefly note one or two slighter peculiarities of expression, which are probably due to later influences. There is every probability for example that *αἴ κ' αὐτόν* (549) is merely an easy modernisation of *αἴ κεν τόν*. So again in *ἔρχεό μοι, τὸν ξεῖνον* (544) the desire to find accommodation for the by no means necessary article *τόν* with *ξεῖνον* seems to me to have caused an awkward displacement of the ethical *μοι*, which ought to go with *κάλεσσον* rather than *ἔρχεο*. I would suggest:—

ἔρχεο καί μοι ξεῖνον—κάλεσσον. Cf. O 54.

However I leave this to the judgement of the reader without further comment.

In l. 547 *ἀλύξει* is probably right in form, though it is not a fut. indic., but an aor. subj., the termination *-ει* being the original form of the 3 pers. sing. of the non-thematic aor., afterwards superseded by *-η* except when, as here, the form was mistaken for a future. The MSS. vary between *ἀλύξει*, *ἀλύξοι* and *ἀλύξαι*, while three important MSS. omit the line altogether. This and the tautology of 546 and 547 (*τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἀτελὴς θάνατος μνηστῆρσι πᾶσι καὶ τὸ οὐδεὶς θάνατον ἀλύξοι ταυτὸν δηλοῦσιν* Eust.) have caused Knight and others to condemn 547. It must be admitted that there is a fair case against the line, though in form it is Homeric enough; but before deciding the question let us turn to the consideration of l. 546, for the sake of which primarily attention has been drawn to the speech.

First of all I would urge that *γένοιτο*, which has the unanimous voice of tradition in its favour, should certainly be altered in spite of all MSS.—their untrustworthiness on this particular point is a commonplace of criticism—to *γένηται*; for the statement is obviously intended to be as positive as it can be made: *would certainly* is the sense here required, not *would probably*. I may refer to the lines just preceding the quoted passage (539—40):—

> *εἴ κ' Ὀδυσεὺς ἔλθοι καὶ ἵκοιτ' ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν,*
> *αἶψά κε σὺν ᾧ παιδὶ βίας ἀποτίσεται ἀνδρῶν.*

where the subjunctive comes, even after an optative in the protasis, for pretty much the same reason, as it ought to come here. If anything, the need for it here is, I should imagine, rather more stringent, though it is possible that on this point there may be a difference of opinion. Still I should hardly expect that there could be any hesitation on the main question, the necessity for *γένηται* rather than *γένοιτο* in l. 546.

If we turn to the consideration of the statement as a whole, "death would be, or will be, *not unaccomplished* for all the suitors," it does not seem quite to satisfy all the requirements of the case. Death is of course sure to come to the suitors sooner or later. The essential point here is surely the time of the visitation, and in the vulgate no mention whatever is made of this: there is no 'soon' or 'shortly' or 'presently.' There is only the odd litotes, ineffective and unimpressive, of *οὐκ ἀτελής*, and there the serious corruption, if there be any serious corruption of the line, must lie. Suspecting then the soundness of *οὐκ ἀτελής* I have little doubt that it but slightly veils the true reading, which can hardly have been other than

ὠκυτελής.

Palaeographically the difference between *οὐκ ἀτελής* and *ὠκυτελής* is very slight, while the advantage to the sense, given by the latter, is considerable: "In that case death to the suitors will be *swift of accomplishment*."

To complete the discomfiture of the vulgate it may be noticed that *ἀτελής* is practically *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, and that the

meaning given to it in this passage is altogether illegitimate in Epic diction. The real Homeric word for 'unfulfilled' is *ἀτέλεστος*, Δ 26, 57, 168, *β* 273, *θ* 571, *π* 111, *σ* 345; once we have *ἀτελεύτητος*, A 527. As for *ἀτελής* it may be found in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, l. 481, where it means *uninitiated*:—

ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων
(l. ὁμοίην)
αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.

In conclusion, by the adoption of *ὠκυτελής*, an unexceptional formation (cf. *ὀξυβελής*, &c.), we recall a primitive word from unmerited oblivion, restore its effective emphasis to *καί*, and at once remove the objectionable tautology of the two clauses, the mere recurrence of the noun *θάνατος* being not unusual in Homeric diction:—

τῷ κε καὶ ὠκυτελὴς θάνατος μνηστῆρσι γένηται
πᾶσι μάλ', οὐδέ κέ τις θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξει.

The first line dwells upon the swiftness of the impending doom: the second enforces its comprehensiveness.

*

σ 10 εἶκε, γέρον, προθύρου, μὴ δὴ τάχα καὶ ποδὸς ἕλκῃ.

ἕλκῃ for ἕλκηαι is not to be accepted. It is an exposed imposture. The contraction is admittedly post-Homeric. Knight's ἕλκεαι only makes matters worse; for not only is the contraction in the highest degree doubtful, but the introduction of an indicative, for such it is, whatever may have been the view of its sponsor, when a subjunctive is indispensable, must be condemned as a misguided effort. Van Leeuwen and da Costa change δή into τις, so converting ἕλκῃ into an unexceptional 3 sing. act. This is at least ingenious; but it is hard to see why τις should have become δή and left no trace of its real self. There is nothing in the suggested reading to provoke the alteration into the vulgate. In the MSS. there is no variant of δή save δῆ and only ἕλκε L of ἕλκῃ, mere differences of breathing and accent being, as here they may be, disregarded.

I have rather an adventurous suggestion to make, which would account in a fairly satisfactory manner for the traditional text, and yet afford a simple and intelligible reading with somewhat of an antique cast. There is no palaeographical difficulty in supposing that ἕλκῃ may be an old error for ἑλκή. It is hardly necessary to press into service the reading of L ἕλκε to justify the idea, though indications even as slight as that carry weight with many minds. Under this supposition the verb, the substantive verb, which is all that is required, may be concealed under the unassuming, but non-essential, δή, and we get this result:—

εἶκε, γέρον, προθύρου, μὴ ἔῃ τάχα καὶ ποδὸς ἑλκή.

"Give ground, old man, from the portal, lest there be soon a haling (of thee) by the foot."

On the substitution of ἔῃ for δή it is hardly necessary to dwell. The possibility of the corruption is undeniable: but it is also quite possible to accept the view that ἑλκή should be read and yet leave δή undisturbed: for the verb ἔῃ may be understood here, just as it is in E 481 τά τ' ἔλδεται ὅς κ' ἐπιδευής.

The essential point then is to show the possibility of the noun ἑλκή. We have only ἑλκηθμός extant in Homer in this sense: then we have the cognate derivative ἕλκηθρον, and that is all: for it is by no means determined whether ἕλκος is, or is not, to be reckoned as belonging to the same root, v. Curtius, *Gr. Et.* 23. But even from ἑλκηθμός alone we may postulate a primitive ἑλκή. There is therefore no reason to insist, as some formalists might be disposed to do, that the noun must be in the *o* form, ὁλκή, which admittedly was the only form used in later times, or—shall we say?—the form that ultimately prevailed, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 884 &c. &c. If this be not sufficient to convince, there is still the adverb ἑλκηδόν, which may be found in Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* 302, giving further confirmatory evidence for our supposed ἑλκή, cf. σφαιρηδόν from σφαῖρα, ἀγεληδόν from ἀγέλη, adverbs of this termination being always formed from nouns.

Assuredly, when ὁλκή held the field, nothing could save an

obsolete noun ἑλκή from becoming in later times ἕλκη, unless it were safeguarded by some more efficient protection in the shape of a verb than the no less obsolete ἔη, though, as I have already admitted, it may never have possessed even that meagre amount of protection.

*

σ 93 ὣδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,
ἦκ' ἐλάσαι, ἵνα μή μιν ἐπιφρασσαίατ' Ἀχαιοί.

I regret to say that I cannot, even out of deference to the dignity and importance of the comma, feel the least confidence in the correctness of the second foot of l. 94: neither is the hiatus here to be defended by the fashionable, but I venture to say fleeting, doctrine of legitimate hiatus, which has in fact never been invoked for the benefit of this particular foot. As it happens, I have already made a suggestion with regard to two fairly analogous cases of hiatus, B 590 ἐκτίσασθ' Ἑλένης for τίσασθαι Ἑλένης and π 24 = ρ 42 εἰσόψεσθ' ἐφάμην for ὄψεσθαι ἐφάμην (*Journ. Phil.* XXVII p. 24), and it does not seem altogether improbable that two other instances:—

ξ 522 ἔννυσθαι, ὅτε τις χειμὼν ἔκπαγλος ὄροιτο.
π 287 παρφάσθαι, ὅτε κέν σε μεταλλῶσιν ποθέοντες

should thus be restored on similar lines:—

ἔννυσθ', ὁππότε τις—
παρφάσθ', ὁππότε κεν—

Consequently it may be desirable, or at least permissible, to see if any plausible means of escape from the metrical difficulty here also is open to us. Evidently no solution can be reached by the precise method adopted in the preceding instances, the restoration of a lost elision. Here an elision is out of the question. The final syllable of a 1 aor. inf. act., it is generally agreed, cannot be elided, nor indeed, if it could, would it bring us immediately any nearer to a successful issue: and yet I venture to think that the original may still be recoverable, and in fact probably stood thus:—

ἦκά Ϝ' ἐλάσσαι, μή μιν—

Now *ἦκα ἐλάσσαι*, the only correct tradition possible of the above reading after the loss of the digamma, would readily become *ἦκα ἐλάσαι* and then necessarily *ἦκ' ἐλάσαι*. Under such circumstances the encroachment of the conjunction *ἵνα*, whether it came as an explanatory gloss or a metrical makeshift, would be natural enough. It may be noticed that a couple of lines back, where the same adverb and verb are used, they are accompanied, as I suggest they should be here, by an enclitic pronoun: but the pronoun there could not be so readily lost to sight, *ἠέ μιν ἦκ' ἐλάσειε*. The disappearance of *ἑ* here before *ἐλάσσαι* which begins with the same letter would be even easier than that of *κε* in *ξ* 152 *ὡς νέεται* 'Οδυσεύς, where I have already (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVII p. 175) under some warrant of usage restored *ὥς κε νέηται* 'Οδυσεύς.

Accordingly as a suggestion, not devoid of certain elements of probability, for I make no greater claim, *μετὰ καὶ τόδε τοῖσι γενέσθω*. Sooner or later the occasion may arise, when to misapply the words of the Roman poet "et haec—meminisse juvabit."

*

σ 158 *τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,*
κούρῃ Ἰκαρίοιο περίφρονι Πηνελοπείῃ,
μνηστήρεσσι φανῆναι, ὅπως πετάσειε μάλιστα
θυμὸν μνηστήρων, ἰδὲ τιμήεσσα γένοιτο
μᾶλλον πρὸς πόσιός τε καὶ υἱέος ἢ πάρος ἦεν.

Line 160 furnishes the solitary instance of *πετάννυμι* used metaphorically. It is of course very frequently used literally, e.g. of hands (*χεῖρε πετάσσας*), clothes (*ζ* 94 &c.), sails (A 480 &c.), light (*ζ* 45 &c.) and doors (*φ* 50) with the meaning 'to spread out,' 'to open.' Hence it would seem not unnatural that *πετάσειε θυμὸν μνηστήρων* here should mean 'to disclose, reveal, the mind of the suitors,' in plain terms, 'to put their generosity to the test.' This indeed is precisely what she proceeds to do to the huge delight of her husband:—

σ 281 *ὣς φάτο γήθησεν δὲ πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,*
οὕνεκα τῶν μὲν δῶρα παρέλκετο,—

and doubtless her son thoroughly shared in his father's gratification.

This, I submit, is what the author of πετάσειε, whether Homer, or a redactor, or reviser,—the whole passage is the subject of an interminable wrangle among the professors of the Higher Criticism—must have meant by the expression. Penelope was to 'show up' the suitors, thereby endearing herself all the more to her husband and son. But this is by no means the view the ancients took of πετάσειε here. It would have been an insult to the royal family, an ἀπρεπές, as they were so fond of declaring on other occasions. So πετάσειε is explained by Schol. V ἐκπλήξειε, by B ἀναστήσειε πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν and in Eustathius διαχέοι, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν διαπεταννυμένων σωμάτων. There is a good deal of latitude, it is true, in these explanations. The moderns, while following suit in the main, are as a rule a little more precise. Ebeling and his coadjutors in the *Lexicon Homericum* have 'animum quasi dilatare laetitia et cupiditate,' 'arrigo': Ameis-Hentze 'das Herz ausbreitete, mit freudiger Hoffnung schwellte': Crusius (Arnold) 'expand the heart of any one, i.e. to swell': Autenrieth 'open the heart': Liddell and Scott 'open one's heart' (?): Butcher and Lang 'that she might make their heart greatly to swell for joy.'

Now to put the suitors in a good humour may or may not have been desirable; certainly it is difficult to trace any such considerate intention in a good many things said and done by both Odysseus and Telemachus and even by Penelope herself. Moreover one might fairly suppose that the fight between the two beggar-men had already achieved that object for the generality, cf. l. 100 γέλῳ ἔκθανον, l. 111 ἤδὺ γελοιῶντες. Only Amphinomus has any reason (v. ll. 125—127) for feeling a little depressed. Neither Penelope then nor Athene, for either might be regarded as the entertainer of the design whatever it was, can be supposed to have intended to produce this effect. Schol. V stands alone in supposing that Penelope merely meant to astonish the suitors. However it is perhaps unnecessary to pursue further the inquiry into the meaning of πετάσειε. What has been said justifies considerable mistrust of its

genuineness, and has an important bearing on the emendation I wish to propose.

Some MSS. ULW cum γρ′ Y (Ludwich) give θέλξειε, which is approved by Nauck with a hearty 'rectius, ut opinor.' Van Herwerden on the other hand with some plausibility thinks θέλξειε merely a gloss derived from ll. 212 and 282. Undoubtedly a conjecture, to win the smallest credence, must account for the appearance, not of θέλξειε but of πετάσειε. Perhaps I should mention the one offered by J. J. Hartman in his *Epistola Critica*, 1896, σκεδάσειε. With this verb θυμόν of course assumes its special sense, 'anger.' But the same objection holds against this reading also. We have no information that the suitors were angry, though Penelope was herself a little out of temper not without reason, as her son admitted, τὸ μὲν οὔ σε νεμεσσῶμαι κεχολῶσθαι.

But it is now high time to hazard my own conjecture. Accordingly I suggest that what Homer really said differed by but one letter from the tradition, and the text should stand thus:—

ὅπως ἐτάσειε μάλιστα
θυμὸν μνηστήρων—

'in order that she might test the mind of the suitors.' The sense is as already explained: the motive is very much the same as that which influenced Athene on a previous occasion, ρ 363 ὡς ἄν...γνοίη θ' οἵ τινές εἰσιν ἐναίσιμοι οἵ τ' ἀθέμιστοι· Moreover it would seem not unreasonable to suppose that the editor or rhapsodist, who substituted πετάσειε, the more common and familiar Homeric verb, for the always rare and unusual ἐτάσειε, intended to maintain the sense without material alteration, and scarcely contemplated the treatment his well-meant effort has met with at the hands of subtle exponents, some of them bent on making a display of imaginary psychological analysis.

Against ἐτάσειε for ἐξετάσειε in later classical times the same feeling would operate that would greet now-a-days the appearance of 'ceive' for 'perceive.' Analogy might plead for it, but usage would reject it without a moment's hesitation.

The instances of the use of *ἐτάζω*, for a reference to the Lexicons will assure us that it was used, seem to be almost confined to the Anthology, whose writers however were often in diction great revivalists.

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σ 192 *κάλλεϊ μέν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν*
ἀμβροσίῳ,—

Undoubtedly it would be an unenviable task to defend the above line in its entirety, unless its champion were prepared boldly to ignore the existence of such a thing as cumulative evidence. It is not only that *κάλλεϊ* is, as Fick says, mirum unguentum—it seems rather to be a sort of patent toilet-soap—but *προσώπατα* for *πρόσωπα* is really more than we could possibly bear with equanimity even for the sake of the excellent bucolic diaeresis. Then to crown all comes *καλά*, an innocent-looking word enough, but surely quite inadmissible after *κάλλεϊ*, whether we take it as a mere standing, and conventional, epithet, as in *ω* 44:—

καθήραντες χρόα καλὸν
ὕδατί τε λιαρῷ καὶ ἀλείφατι·

or regard it as a somewhat uncomplimentary prolepsis 'till it became beautiful.' In fact *καλά*, if I do not mistake, is the main centre of mischief in this passage, though unfortunately it cannot be said to be the only faulty element that mars the tradition. Even *κάθηρεν* is not altogether free from suspicion. It would however be useless on the strength of a single doubtful passage, Φ 347 *ὅς τις ἐθείρῃ*, to do more than hint that possibly an aor. *ἔθηρεν* (*ἐϝέθηρεν*?) may have stood here with the meaning 'carefully treated': but it may be allowable to exercise more freedom in dealing with the abnormal *προσώπατα* and its probable origin. I suggest then that the poet really said *πρόσωπα ἀπαλά*, cf. Σ 123 *παρειάων ἀπαλάων*. If there were any confusion of *ἀπαλά* with *ἀταλά*, we should get the very letters that make up the curious, or, to be mildly apologetic, heteroclite *προσώπατα*: but in any case the confusion of *π* and *τ* is not a very difficult matter to face. As to *καλά*, which has

ousted the less familiar word, it is more than half suggested by the ending of *ἀπαλά*. For the rest of the verse if we look to *κάθηρεν*, which of course van Leeuwen and da Costa print *ἐκάθηρεν*, there is every possibility that the lipography of ЄΚΑ (*ἦκα*) is the missing link and may have started the process of corruption. Certainly *ἦκα* might be lost before *ἐκάθηρεν* just as readily as *ἑκάς* after *ἕστηκας* in E 485 (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXIV p. 275 f.). We arrive at the result:—

κάλλεϊ μέν οἱ πρῶτα πρόσωφ' ἀπάλ' ἦκα κάθηρεν.

Still nearer to the tradition is *ἦκα ἔθηρεν*, but the verb, as I have already observed, is too much of a step in the dark. The aspiration of the *π* in the above writing makes the change a little more considerable in appearance than it is in reality; for we must remember that *πρόσωπα* would almost certainly appear in the older writing without any visible elision.

It may be useful indeed both for present and future purposes to consider the passage again from the point of view of the earlier writing, and to set down the last four words at full length, as they may be supposed to have appeared before the time of the archon Euclides:—

ΠΡΟСΟΠΑ ΑΠΑΛΑ ЄΚΑ ЄΚΑΘЄΡЄΝ.

Now *οἱ μεταχαρακτηρίζοντες*, besides introducing the special forms for the long vowels Η and Ω, would probably have to strike out those which are elided in reading, and according to the later custom omitted in writing. In the above we have three couples ΑΑ, ΑЄ and ΑЄ requiring to be dealt with. In the first no error can be committed: it is immaterial which Α is cancelled; nor is there much more room for material error in the third: the removal of the Є would serve just as well as that of the Α; but in the second case the loss of the Є, if accidentally deleted instead of the Α, would be immediately fatal to the conservation of the adverb *ἦκα*. Not only abnormal grammatical forms like *προσώπατα* may have arisen in this way, but mysterious words, which would have puzzled Homer himself as much as they did his interpreters, would be evolved now and then, such as for example *μορόεντα* in this very book,

l. 298. The explanations that tradition has preserved of this locution are quite enough to assure us that the ancients knew nothing whatever about it. To begin with they were uncertain whether to read *τρίγληνα μορόεντα* or *τρίγλην' ἀμορόεντα*. Then the explanations are at once various and beautiful, and not without an occasional touch of humour. Some of the Greeks, good easy men, evidently thought that to do hard work was as bad as to be killed, so that *πόνος* was to all intents and purposes the same as *μόρος*. Ergo, it is clear *μορόεντα* = *πεπονημένα*. Others preferred to try to make *ἀμορόεντα* reveal its secret and convinced themselves that they had hit the nail on the head by making it equivalent to *ἀθάνατα, μόρου μὴ μετέχοντα*. We need not tarry long over the remaining, mainly modern, efforts of exegesis, such as 'plena particularum' (*μόρα* = pars), 'splendida' (*μαρμαίρω*), 'venusta' (Sansc. smara = amor), 'fatalia' (*μόρος*), 'mulberry-coloured' (*μόρον*), 'black,' 'nigricantia.'

In applying the principle enunciated above, absolute assurance is of course unattainable; but it is surely not venturing beyond reasonable limits to surmise that

ΤΡΙΓΛΕΝΑΙΜΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ

might lose in course of transfer the Ι instead of the Α of the ΑΙ. Then *μερόεντα* would not have much difficulty in becoming *μορόεντα*. Certainly the plain and simple

τρίγλην' ἱμερόεντα

will lack attraction for many who would not lose the magnificent mumpsimus, *μορόεντα*, at any price, partly because they delight in the mysterious and unfathomable, partly because they blindly cling to the dogmatic pronouncement, that the most difficult reading is always to be preferred, just as if a fortuitous corruption, as opposed to a deliberate alteration, was always, or indeed ever, likely to be plainer than the original. At this rate lucidity and clearness should be found in muddy and disturbed waters, and opacity only in the pure untroubled stream. Observation however does not confirm this interesting inference.

*

σ 265 τῶ οὐκ οἶδ', ἤ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεός, ἦ κεν ἀλώω
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ·

The above is the reading of Ludwich's text (1891). There are sundry minor points about it which might be discussed, whether τῶ or τῷ is correct, whether εἰ—ἦ should be read with the MSS. or ἤ—ἦ as above, whether οὐ before οἶδ' and κε before ἁλώω should not be written for οὐκ and κεν, also αὐτόθ' for αὐτοῦ; but the main problem here is the determination of ἀνέσει. The only variant is ἀνέσοι, which gives no help, save that it shows that some one knew that κε did not assort well with what looks like a fut. indic.

The most widely accepted view is that ἀνέσει is a special form of the fut. indic. of ἀνίημι, though why Homer ever tried to palm off ἀνέσει upon his hearers for ἀνήσει, which is actually used in B 276, has never been, and never will be, explained. He has been charged with blindness; but even a blind man could hardly say ἀνέσει for ἀνήσει. That would argue rather some slight degree of mental deficiency. Alexandrine scholiasts and editors however did not stand at trifles, as I have shown more than once in these papers, and when we find even modern critics of repute giving us, also under stress of metre, an imaginary ὄνεαρ for ὄνειαρ, much may be forgiven to those early novices.

The next and latest view is that ἀνέσει is a 1 aor. subj. of ἀνίημι (Savelsberg). This view is supposed by its author to reduce to a minimum the difficulty of the shortening of the penultimate. Here are his words: "weil nie das Futurum, wohl aber der erste Aorist die Verlängerung des Wurzelvokals öfters mit der Kürze vertausche." If ἀνέσει however is to be dealt with at all, those who refer it to ἵζω, ἕζω, to seat, must surely prevail against those who would force it to belong to ἵημι. We have N 657 ἐς δίφρον μ' ἀνέσαντες, Ξ 209 εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνέσαιμι. The difficulty about ἀνέσει in this view is that, though the grammatical form is satisfactory enough, the meaning 'restore me to my seat' is very flat and unprofitable. This objection has, I suppose, been considered fatal, as indeed it ought to be.

Many reject the form *ἀνέσει* altogether and follow Thiersch in reading *ἀνέῃ*, an unhappy conjecture; for the form is itself speculative, *ἀνήῃ*, found in B 34, being alone authentic. It may be remarked also that the meaning postulated for *ἀνίημι* 'send back home' is not elsewhere found in Homer.

The scholia BQ give as the first paraphrase *ἐκ τοῦ θανάτου ἀφήσει* and the Venetian scholia *ἐάσει*. Here, I think, we have a fair hint and something more, as to what the real reading was, which *ἀνέσει* has unfortunately displaced.

τῶ οὐ οἶδ' ἤ κέν μ' ἐάῃ θεὸς ἦ κε ἁλώω.

Palaeographically the corruption of *ἐάῃ* into *-ΐῃ* which associates it with *ἵημι* is easy. But more than that, the special epic use of *ἐάω*, 'to spare an enemy's life,' became obsolete and was forgotten by the later Greeks. *ἵημι* obviously requires the help of the prep. *ἀνά* to enable it to convey any meaning at all here, and if any one thinks the Greeks would hesitate at a bold modification of quantity to make the necessary accommodation, he underrates seriously the sacrifices they would make of form to secure the laudable end that their great poet should speak in 'a tongue understanded of the people.'

We might, it is true, get a little closer to the tradition by reading *ἐάσῃ* with a crasis of *εα-*, such as we find in E 256 *τρεῖν μ' οὐκ ἐᾷ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη*. I am, I confess, quite incredulous as to the integrity of E 256, and the possibility of such a contraction. Moreover the pres. tense *ἐάῃ*, 'is for sparing my life,' is far more suitable here than the aor. To carry out the intention would necessarily involve a series of acts of intervention. Of course *ἁλώω* refers to a catastrophe, that could only occur once.

For the special sense of *ἐάω* the following passages may be noticed:—

δ 743 *σὺ μὲν ἄρ με κατάκτανε νηλέι χαλκῷ,*
ἦ ἔα ἐν μεγάρῳ·

Π 731 *Ἕκτωρ δ' ἄλλους μὲν Δαναοὺς ἔα οὐδ' ἐνάριζεν·*

Ω 684 *ἐπεί σ' εἴασεν Ἀχιλλεύς.*

569 *μή σε, γέρον, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐάσω* (L. *γέρωι*)
καὶ ἱκέτην περ ἐόντα, Διὸς δ' ἀλίτωμαι ἐφετμάς.

In the last line it is fairly certain that *καὶ ἱκέτην* should be *κτὰς ἱκέτην*, but the later Greeks could not tolerate the uncompounded participle (cf. on *σ* 158), and preferred to strengthen *περ* by a Homerically superfluous *καί* in spite of the distressing hiatus thereby created. The emendation, an excellent one, is due to Brandreth, whose work has received recently considerable, though perhaps not complete, acknowledgement at the hands of Prof. A. Platt, the editor of the Cambridge Homer.

There remains one passage that must needs be quoted. In Ω 556 Priam referring to the ransom he has brought says to Achilles:—

σὺ δὲ τῶνδ' ἀπόναιο καὶ ἔλθοις
σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, ἐπεί με πρῶτον ἔασας—

Here he ended, *ἐπεὶ—ἔασας* being definite enough 'for you began by sparing my life'; but some critics or readers not knowing the usage, *ὅπερ ἀγνοήσαντές τινες*, as Didymus says,—though it is hardly necessary to assume that they were as ignorant as Didymus himself, who promptly kicks away his own pedestal by explaining *ἔασας* by *ἤδυνας, ηὔφρανας*, it would be sufficient ground for their action that they knew the usage to be obsolete,—these critics added the universally-bracketed line in order to give *ἔασας* its ordinary sense:—

αὐτόν τε ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο.

*

σ 379 *τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα,*
οὐδ' ἄν μοι τὴν γαστέρ' ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύοις.

It is impossible, at any rate it is undesirable, to separate the consideration of *τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις* here from that of the very same words in l. 375:—

τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις, εἰ ὦλκα διηνεκέα προταμοίμην.

In this latter passage the metrically more satisfactory *τῷ κε ἴδοις* may be read without detriment to the sense. It seems hardly possible however to follow Knight and others in making

the same easy correction in l. 379. In l. 375 *εἰ—προταμοίμην* allows the pronoun to disappear with impunity and even with advantage; but here *μιγέντα* with no pronoun would be decidedly wanting in clearness. The maintenance of the pronoun must therefore be regarded as an indispensable condition, and the question is, whether this condition will allow us to maintain also the consistent use of the digamma in this root *Fιδ-*, or whether we are forced by such an instance as this to adopt the in-and-out theory, the always-ready-when-wanted idea, of the digamma. Taking this then as a typical instance of the difficulty that sometimes attends the restoration of the *F*, I would suggest that the true reading here is :—

τῷ κε Fίδοις ἐμὲ πρῶτον ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα,—

The pronoun is thus preserved with enhanced, but not undue, emphasis. But there is something more to be said, a further argument, by which I hope to justify and confirm this correction. If we consider the traditional *πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι*, we cannot but notice that, notwithstanding the frequency with which *πρόμαχοι* (*ἐνὶ προμάχοισι*) occurs in Homer (Γ 31, Δ 354, E 134, Θ 99, N 642, O 457), the combination *πρῶτοι πρόμαχοι* is elsewhere entirely unknown. The reason is obvious. There is no material difference between *ἐνὶ προμάχοις* and *ἐνὶ πρώτοις*. The *πρόμαχοι* are so called, because they are *πρῶτοι*. If you say of a man that he is among the front-fighters, it is mere surplusage to add that the front-fighters are first. Where else could they be? You can only give him higher credit by saying that he is first among the front-fighters, and this is, as I conceive, exactly what was originally said here, just as elsewhere (Δ 458, P 590) Homer speaks of a hero as *ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι*, of which expression this *πρῶτον ἐνὶ προμάχοισι* is the superlative, being equivalent to *ἄριστον ἐνὶ προμάχοισι*.

I will add that the vulgate cannot be defended on the ground that *πρῶτοι πρόμαχοι* means "the van of the *πρόμαχοι*." This would imply that the *πρόμαχοι* were an organised body of troops, a sort of special regiment or Agamemnonian Old Guard, whereas we know that any warrior promachized, as the fancy took him. And here in this point of organisation we seem to

have the chief difference, or one of the differences, between the *πρόμαχοι* and the *πρυλέες*, cf. O 517 :—

Αἴας δ' ἔλε Λαοδάμαντα
ἡγεμόνα πρυλέων, Ἀντήνορος *ἀγλαὸν υἱόν*·

We should look in vain for a *ἡγεμὼν προμάχων*. Of special interest also, in view of the passage under discussion, is :—

Φ 90 *ἦ τοι τὸν πρώτοισι μετὰ πρυλέεσσι δάμασσας*—.

In our second line the late use of the article *τὴν γαστέρα* is undoubtedly a modernisation. Here we have a noun that is by no means rare. It occurs thirty times in all : three times in the nom. sing. : three times in the gen. : eight times in the dat. : fifteen times in the acc., and once in the nom. plur. In one instance, I may say, the acc. is an error, the dat. being the true form :—

ι 433 *τοῦ κατὰ νῶτα λαβών, λασίην ὑπὸ γαστέρ' ἐλυσθείς*—

Read *λασίῃ ὑπὸ γαστρὶ ἐλυσθείς* or even *γαστέρ'*, if preferred ; but this participle, I have little doubt, was digammated in spite of appearances. In Ω 510 Ἀχιλῆι is evidently the true reading : and in Ψ 393 it is equally evident that *ἐλύσθη* itself is wrong. The verb required there should be supplied, I would suggest, by the still rather mysterious, but, as usage will avouch, quite appropriate *ἐάφθη*.

But to return to *γαστήρ*, in no place save this solitary σ 380 do we find any article with this noun. Even the case of the article with *νῆσος* (*Journ. Phil.* XXVI pp. 141—3) has more to run on than one crazy wheel. Therefore I propose the following as a probable restoration :—

οὐδέ κέ μ' οὕτω γαστέρ' ὀνειδίζων ἀγορεύοις (*μ'* = *μοι*)

'taunting me thus,' 'in the way you did.' Of course the corrupt tradition would be due to the desire not to recognise, if possible, the elision of *μοι*, and no suggestion for replacing *τήν*, by such a word as *τότε* for instance, would be satisfactory, because there would then be no reason why the tradition should have failed.

A further illustration of this process of change, resulting in the appearance of the later article, may be found a few lines further on :—

σ 385 *αἶψά κέ τοι τὰ θύρετρα καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ' ἐόντα*
φεύγοντι στείνοιτο διὲκ προθύροιο θύραζε.

This affords in *αἶψά κε* some justification for changing *οὐδ' ἄν* in l. 380 to *οὐδέ κε*: for there can be no pretence that more emphasis is required in l. 380 than in l. 385 (Monro, *H. G.* § 363, 2 (*c*)): in fact the reverse is manifestly more nearly the truth. But now to account for the article. If we write with a gap to indicate the loss of a syllable before which *τοι* would be elided *τοι—τα*, it is at once apparent that the insertion of *αὐ-* would solve all difficulties.

αἶψά κέ τ' αὐτὰ θύρετρα καὶ εὐρέα περ μάλ' ἐόντα—

"the very doors wide as they are &c."

*

τ 121 *μή τίς μοι δμῳῶν νεμεσήσεται, ἠὲ σύ γ' αὐτή,*
φῇ δὲ δακρυπλώειν βεβαρηότα με φρένας οἴνῳ.

The condition of the latter of these lines is such as to call for, and certainly to excuse, an attempt to remedy its grave and patent defects. If it can be made fairly probable, or even fairly possible, that these defects have arisen partly from involuntary errors in transmission, partly from injudicious patching on the part of the later Greeks, this would constitute an effective reply to the opinion advanced by Knight, Fick and others, that the line should be athetized and removed as a spurious assertion.

The objections to the line, as it stands, must first be shortly set forth. Metrically the quantity here given to the first syllable of *δᾰκρυπλώειν* is out of accord with Homeric usage, with one exception as might be expected, viz.

σ 173 *μηδ' οὕτω δακρύοισι πεφυρμένη ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα—*,

where I have no doubt Knight and Spitzner are right in reading *δάκρυσσι*, especially as *δάκρυσι* is found in a large

number of MSS. PHJLW and δακρῦσι in U. The other metrical fault in the fifth foot of τ 122 would be easily remedied, if all else were satisfactory, by reading φρένα (Bentley).

In point of language δακρυπλώειν is a word elsewhere unknown and is sufficiently surprising. Floating or swimming in tears is, I believe, a feat altogether confined to the Second Chapter of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland.* Our familiar expression 'his eyes were swimming in tears' is obviously quite a different matter, and cannot render any help towards the elucidation of δακρυπλώειν here. Last and worst fault of all, there is an altogether inexcusable violation of correct Epic order in the position of the enclitic pronoun με (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVI p. 114). It is quite unavailing to fly for support to the equally guilty parallel:—

Ω 53 μὴ ἀγαθῷ περ ἐόντι νεμεσσηθέωμέν οἱ ἡμεῖς.

The true reading there is, or ought to be, generally recognised to have been successfully restored by van Leeuwen and da Costa, who have anticipated me in this instance, as in many others:—

μή Ϝ' ἀγαθῷ περ ἐόντι νεμεσσηθήομεν ἡμεῖς.

There is a similar valuable warning to be found in most texts in μ 278

αὐτίκα δ' Εὐρύλοχος στυγερῷ μ' ἠμείβετο μύθῳ·

Several MSS. rightly omit μ'. Mr Platt has judiciously expelled it from the *Cambridge Homer.* There remains one rather noticeable line, on which a remark here will not be out of place:—

ι 523 αἳ γὰρ δὴ ψυχῆς τε καὶ αἰῶνός σε δυναίμην.

The two nouns are here allowed to precede the enclitic, because they form a single idea, a true hendiadys, and the license is not really greater than that involved in giving emphasis to single words and phrases (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXV p. 114). Obviously δακρυπλώειν and βεβαρηότα are not welded together in this way, and therefore τ 122 cannot so be defended.

Such being the objections that may be taken to the line, as it stands, we may proceed to see if any help can be derived from traditional sources. Aristotle, *Problem.* xxx 1 p. 953, 12 (according to Ludwich) quotes the line not flawlessly thus:—

καί μέ φησι δάκρυ πλώειν βεβαρημένον οἴνῳ.

The first noteworthy point here is the ending *βεβαρημένον οἴνῳ*, which gives a fair indication that *φρένας* is insiticious and along with its complement *με* should be dislodged from the position altogether. See also Albert Fulda's *Untersuchungen über die Spr. der Hom. Ged.* p. 130 ff. for objection taken to *φρένας* here. It seems to me that *βεβαρημένον* merely represents a natural, but of course futile, attempt to provide a better dactyl for the fifth foot than *βεβαρηότα οἴνῳ* apparently affords. Practically therefore Aristotle's testimony, as I take it, is in favour of *βεβαρηότα οἴνῳ* as the ending of the verse.

Then in *δάκρυ πλώειν*, which by the way appears also in several MSS. FLU²Z, there is more than a hint, that two words are really concealed under the disguise of this irrational *δακρυπλώειν*. If this be so, I would suggest that *πλώειν* has been developed from *πολλῷ*, which would be a very suitable epithet for *οἴνῳ* in this connection,

πολλῷ βεβαρηότα οἴνῳ.

Now if we restore *με* to its legitimate place, the verse is already nearly complete:—

φῇ δέ με δάκρυ——πολλῷ βεβαρηότα οἴνῳ.

The only syllable unaccounted for is *ειν* and this may be preserved, if we insert *χέειν* to make up the line:—

φῇ δέ με δάκρυ χέειν πολλῷ βεβαρηότα οἴνῳ.

The only quite uncertain element here is *χέειν*, for clearly *δακρυέμεν* will satisfy the metre equally well, and would perhaps afford an easier progress towards the corrupt vulgate by the intermediate stage of *δακρύειν*.

*

τ 228 *ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἐλλόν,*
ἀσπαίροντα λάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἐόντες ὁ μὲν λάε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι.
τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροΐ σιγαλόεντα
οἷόν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάτα ἰσχαλέοιο.

In the first four lines we have the famous description, much discussed, of the ornamental design on the clasp of the hero's mantle; then his tunic is praised by means of a homely but striking comparison. All the lines are noteworthy and deserve for various reasons more than cursory consideration. As there are some half-a-dozen changes which seem called for to restore the impaired integrity of the passage, and since the impression of the whole as emended ought to be favourable rather than otherwise to the discussion of the particulars, I will anticipate the result by setting down in black and white before the reader the whole paragraph with the several emendations I have to propose. I will then proceed to offer such justification for each change as may be attainable or sufficient.

ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι κύων ἔχε ποικίλον ἐλλόν,
ἀσπαίρονθ' ὑλάων· τὸ δὲ θαυμάζεσκον ἅπαντες,
ὡς τὼ χρυσοῦ ἐόνθ' ὁ μὲν ὗλαε νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων,
αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἐκφυγέειν μεμαὼς ἤσπαιρε πόδεσσι.
τοῦ δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα περὶ χροΐ σιγαλόεντα
οἷόν τε κρομύοιο λοπὸν κάρτ' ἰσχαλέοιο.

Now with regard to λάων in l. 229, the ancient interpretations, bad as they are, have not been bettered, and are not likely to be bettered, by modern scholars. They may be found concisely stated in Schol. MV ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἀπολαύων, ὁ δὲ Κράτης ἀντὶ τοῦ βλέπων, οἱ δέ φασιν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸ υ, ἵνα ᾖ ὑλάων. According to Aristarchus then the hound is *enjoying itself*, according to Crates it is *gazing* or *glaring*, if you will, either with uplifted head or at its victim, according to the unnamed expositors it is *barking*. Latterly λάων has been considered cognate with, and practically equivalent to, (1) λιλαιόμενος (Fick) or even (2) λαβών (Passow, Ameis-Hentze) with of

course the meaning of a present 'fassend,' cf. μ 254 *ἀσπαίροντα δ' ἔπειτα λαβών.*

We are not without a little archaeological evidence of some interest; for there is an unmistakable pictorial representation of this brooch on the reverse of a coin of Iakos, a town near Mt Eryx in Sicily, the date being about 430 B.C. By the kindness of Mr S. Butler, in whose *Translation of the Odyssey*, p. 253, this woodcut appears, I am enabled to present his enlargement of the coin in question, now in the British Museum.

The amplest acknowledgements are due to Mr Butler for his graciousness in allowing the reprint, more especially as it is well known he holds a view of the relationship of the coin to the text, which is quite incompatible with my own argument here. Following an opinion of his friend Prof. Cav. B. Ingroia of Calatafimi he thinks it possible that the writer of the Odyssey in composing these lines had in view this very design, which was the crest or emblem or stemma of some actual city he intended to honour. I am content with the humbler and, I think, safer hypothesis that Aristarchus in his unsatisfactory interpretation practically accepted, and may very possibly have seen, this interesting little picture, which, interesting though it be, is not in my opinion a very successful attempt to realise the Homeric conception. The dog long, gaunt and obviously heavy, lies with its whole body, hind-legs as well as fore-legs, couched on the back of a rather diminutive

fawn, and with its reverted muzzle sunk in the throat of its victim is apparently draining its life-blood. In all probability this is what Aristarchus must have meant by his gloss *ἀπολαύων*: possibly indeed he may have been familiar with the artist's work, which would be an antique even in his day (210 B.C.), if the date assigned by Mr Butler to the coin may be trusted. However that may be, the artist's conception of the scene cannot fairly, I say it with all due respect to archaeology and to Aristarchus, be reconciled with the poet's description. The hound could hardly be described as merely holding the fawn in its fore-paws (*ἐν προτέροισι πόδεσσι*), if its whole bulk was huddled on the fawn's body, and its hind-legs firmly planted there as here shown. In the next place it seems scarcely possible to suppose that the hound had fastened on the fawn with its teeth, when the detention is expressly stated to have been by the fore-paws. The fawn is certainly not being pulled down like the stag in Landseer's well-known picture. I am not forgetting one expression in these lines, which gives colour—alone gives colour and gives colour only—to such a representation, viz. *νεβρὸν ἀπάγχων*: but I submit that such an interpretation, though natural, is inconsistent with the rest of the description, and secondly that the expression need not imply more than that the weight of the dog's fore-paws pressed heavily on the prostrate fawn was smothering or stifling the little creature. That *ἀπάγχω* can be used without implying actual seizure by the throat cannot of course be shown from Homer, as the word occurs only here, and *ἄγχω* also makes but one appearance, Γ 371 *ἄγχε μιν ἱμάς*. If we may turn elsewhere for such illustration as may show the possibility of this less strict use of *ἀπάγχω*, we have Arist. *Wasps* 686:—

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιταττόμενος φοιτᾷς, ὃ μάλιστά μ' ἀπάγχει,

also *Clouds* 988 *ὥστε μ' ἀπάγχεσθ'*, where it means "to render, and to be rendered, speechless with indignation." For the above reasons it seems necessary to reject Aristarchus's *ἀπολαύων* as a possible interpretation of *λάων*, even supposing, as we reasonably may, that his idea of the scene is conveyed by the picture on the coin. As a matter of fact no single com-

mentator in modern times, so far as I am aware, has given his adherence to Aristarchus's translation.

According to Crates the dog is merely looking up or down. The direction of its gaze is, of course, indeterminate from λάων and λάε, but if ἀπάγχων be taken to refer to throttling by the teeth, as is usually, though I think erroneously, supposed to be necessary, then the eyes of the dog could hardly be turned from the fawn. The weakness of this is patent, and in the issue, whatever may be the direction of the dog's gaze, we have a participle and a verb, on which, from their repetition, some stress is evidently laid, conveying nothing at all beyond the otiose information that the dog had not shut its eyes, as if any one would have imagined, in the absence of the two words, such a Pecksniffian performance on the dog's part likely or possible.

Of one thing we may be assured, that whatever idea λάων conveys in l. 229 must also be contained in λάε in l. 230, so that we cannot possibly allow the license assumed for the nonce by Messrs Butcher and Lang, who first render ἀσπαίροντα λάων 'and *gripped* it as it writhed,' and then translate ὁ μὲν λάε, 'the hound *was watching* the fawn.' A looseness of this kind is a rarity in the work of these scholars, but the excuse made by Horace for Homer himself may perhaps be extended without offence to his translators also,

verum operi longo fas est &c.

There remains the last of the traditional versions, which seems also to have been the popular one, as it is not attributed to the genius of any critic, οἱ δέ φασιν ἀφῃρῆσθαι τὸ υ, ἵνα ᾖ ὑλάων. This view of the meaning is after all the only one that can be considered acceptable, though the idea that ὑλάων could dispense with υ is so flagrantly impossible, that the rendering has been discredited at the outset and has never received fair consideration. With the restoration of ὑλάων and ὕλαε, which are absolutely necessary to convey the meaning, the dog is represented as barking, while it holds down the fawn with its fore-paws. Under the circumstances it could hardly be represented as doing anything else, for its freedom of action is

considerably restricted by the fact that it is fully engaged in holding down the fawn with its fore-paws. While doing so, it lifts up its head and barks its triumph. This loud barking is, and always has been, the dog's note of victory, its *τήνελλα καλλίνικος*. Any one who chooses to make the experiment with a dog and a bone may realise this fact for himself, but should first for prudential reasons tie a long and stout piece of string to the bone, before he shows it to the dog and commences to run. If he does not succeed in getting any amount of barks and growls, which is the phenomenon indicated by *ὑλάων*, *ὕλαε*, there must be something the matter with his dog.

There is no difficulty whatever in the representation in metal of a barking dog. On the shield of Achilles Homer makes the dogs bark, Σ 586

ἱστάμενοι δὲ μάλ' ἐγγὺς ὑλάκτεον—,

the cows low *μυκηθμῷ* (575), the bull bellow *μεμυκώς* (580). So Virgil, *Aen.* VIII 655, describing the shield of Aeneas, follows suit with a goose :—

> Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
> Porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;

and afterwards we meet (697) latrator Anubis, though it is of course not absolutely essential that latrator should be equivalent to latrans.

The erroneous and unintelligible vulgate has arisen, as I have already explained in a similar case, from the mishandling of the *ἐκ πληροῦς* writing ΑCΠΑΙΡΟΝΤΑΥΛΑΟΝ. The Υ has been removed instead of the Α. Then the blunder made with *ὑλάων* has necessarily been extended and made almost irretrievable by the deliberate suppression of *ὕλαε* in favour of *λάε* in the next line. The tradition has however not been unfaithful in preserving the true sense, *ἵνα ᾖ ὑλάων*, even under the very difficult conditions so brought about, and by its aid the original reading may now at length be recovered and restored.

In l. 230 the usual reading *ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ἑόντες*, faulty as it is from a metrical point of view, is not, it may be noticed, that which the tradition really gives. The MSS. with one accord

offer a properly modernised reading, which at any rate does happen to scan, *ὡς οἱ χρύσεοι ὄντες*. Following Heyne's suggestion editors have replaced *ὄντες* by the only correct epic form *ἐόντες* (*η* 94 *ἀθανάτους ὄντας καὶ ἀγήρως ἤματα πάντα* is a gross and patent interpolation), though by so doing they have unwittingly ruined the scansion: for the contracted *-εοι* cannot be shortened before a vowel in spite of *χρυσέῳ ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ* (A 15), which seems to have been originally *χρυσέῳ ἂν σκήπτρῳ* (Lehrs). In our passage I find that van Leeuwen and da Costa consider *ὡς χρυσείῳ ἐόντε* the true reading, but in as much as the pronoun is archaic here, and therefore could not have been introduced for the same reason that has gained for *ὄντες* a unanimous welcome according to the testimony of our MSS., it is better to retain the pronoun, not indeed in the plural form, but in the dual. The confusion of the two may be paralleled by N 358 where *τώ* is restored for *τοί* by Dr Leaf.

In l. 231 the substitution of *ὅ γ'* for *ὁ* may seem to some a needless change; but the accepted canon, that a short vowel that cannot be elided, e.g. *υ*, may therefore stand before a vowel without the hiatus being in any way objectionable, seems to me essentially an error. However, this question cannot now be discussed. It is sufficient to have mentioned the point. I pass to the *τόν* at the beginning of l. 232 *τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα*. This surely is quite indefensible. Obviously *τοῦ* referring to Odysseus is what is here required. Compare by all means the *τόν* for *τοῦ* standing in the forefront of *ι* 208 (v. *Journ. Phil.* XXVI p. 273). It is bad enough there, where it may at least be translated with some meaning "that wine": but here "that tunic" is just as impossible as the utterly inane "it, the tunic" would be.

One important, and I think most necessary, change has been made in the last line, *κάρτα* replacing *κατά* (*κάτα*). The difference is but slight, amounting to no more than one letter added: but *κατὰ λοπόν*, though it recalls and reproduces one of the most familiar forms of expression *κατ' ἄνθρωπον*, *κατ' ἄνδρα* &c., is not here a very suitable or likely phrase. Even supposing that *κατὰ λοπόν* means 'like the skin' it would then be synonymous with *οἷον λοπόν*, and though either

expression might be acceptable, still the combination and blending together of both forms in *κατὰ οἷον λοπόν* must be regarded as quite impossible and meaningless in Homeric Greek at any rate. I notice that Mr S. Butler has a novel idea, for his rendering runs thus "the shirt fitted him like the skin of an onion." This might indeed be a more exact rendering of *κατὰ λοπόν* if it had stood alone: but there are two fatal objections. (1) Why of an onion? What is the special appropriateness in selecting an onion for mention rather than any other of the multitude of vegetables and animals, which are equally well fitted with an integument? The skin of the onion cracks and splits and peels away a good deal, as that valuable vegetable dries, but the attire of Odysseus as a ragged beggar-man is not here in question. (2) The point of similarity between the tunic and the onion-skin is after all not left doubtful, for the next line states it with certainty and precision:—

τὼς μὲν ἔην μαλακός, λαμπρὸς δ' ἦν ἠέλιος ὥς·

κάρτα with *ἰσχαλέοιο*, I might almost venture to say with no reflection whatever on the preciosity of the hiatus licitus, recommends itself. The dryness of the peel or husk of the onion must be complete and pronounced, in order to bring out the silken sheen of the smooth surface. So remarkable is the lustre, that this reference to a common and familiar article is one of the most effective in the whole picture-gallery of Homeric similes. For the use of the acc. without the mar-all *κατά* compare:—

A 262 *οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι,*
οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν
Καινέα τ' Ἐξάδιόν τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Πολύφημον.

*

τ 487 *ὧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω, καὶ μὴν τετελεσμένον ἔσται·*
εἴ χ' ὑπ' ἐμοί γε θεὸς δαμάσῃ μνηστῆρας ἀγαυούς,
οὐδὲ τροφοῦ οὔσης σεῦ ἀφέξομαι, ὁππότ' ἂν ἄλλας
δμῳὰς ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμοῖς κτείνωμι γυναῖκας.

This passage has been condemned by Fick and removed altogether from the text by van Leeuwen and da Costa. Broadly it might be urged as an objection to the lines, that a threat altogether contingent upon the success of an attempt, which under any circumstances was rather unlikely to end well, and would certainly fail utterly if the forbidden disclosure were made, is not so alarming as it looks, and is in fact rather futile. But on the other hand severe logical reasoning of this kind was not likely to occur to the mind of Eurycleia at the moment, nor is it perhaps at any time the most fitting touch-stone of poetry. Moreover there is just a smack, a flavour, of old-world brutality about the passage that vouches strongly for its genuineness, and it seems hardly probable that any one would afterwards devise an illogical interpolation, which also lays Odysseus open to the charge of inhumanity in threatening to kill his foster-mother. The points of detail, to which exception can be taken in these lines, are not very serious, with the exception of *οὔσης* for *ἐούσης* in l. 489. This is indeed a blot on the passage and is not to be defended, v. remarks on *τ* 230, p. 76. We have indeed *τηλόθεν οὖσα* (*Hym. Apoll.* 330) most needlessly maintained by some editors in the text for *τηλόθ' ἐοῦσα*, cf. *α* 22 *τηλόθ' ἐόντας*, *λ* 439 *τηλόθ' ἐόντι*. Here Hermann proposed *ἐούσης* or *εὔσης*, but nothing is gained by the former save a false foot in the second place, and the latter, *εὔσης*, is even more objectionable as a Homeric form than the tradition itself. Nitzsch thought *αὐτῆς* should be read, and if any fair reason could be suggested to account for the loss of this and the substitution of *οὔσης*, we might be contented with the pronoun. It seems to me essential that the word suggested as the original should either be one that would readily lend itself to depravation, or be such that the later Greeks would have felt some difficulty to maintain it. In default of some such peculiarity of the original, it would hardly have been tampered with, much less entirely abandoned and forgotten. Now *αὐτῆς* can hardly be said to satisfy either condition.

With this conviction then I suggest as a more probable original, though at first sight it may not seem so:—

οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδὲ τροφοῦ σεῦ ἀφέξομαι.

My supposition is that *οὔσης* is entirely an error, and that the two words *τροφοῦ σεῦ* originally stood together. Now the last two letters of *τροφοῦ* and the first two letters of *σεῦ* make OYCЄ, to which we have only to add C to make *οὔσης*, which I suggest found its way into the verse from the dittography of the above letters, all the more easily, if *οὔσης* were found, as it might well be, as a marginal gloss. The omission of *οὐδὲ μέν* before *οὐδέ* is then a necessity and involves no great improbability.

Or again, it is quite conceivable that the corruption began with *οὐδὲ μὲν οὐδέ*, a combination which is Homeric enough, but not likely to suit the taste of any later period so completely; but in any case the loss of *οὐδὲ μέν* amounts to little more than an ordinary lipography. If *οὐδέ* remained alone, it would be far easier and readier to make up the verse by inserting *οὔσης*, where it now appears, than to recall the original *οὐδὲ μέν*, which would be remote from daily usage, if not already entirely in the sphere of the obsolete.

In l. 490 some difficulty has arisen about the possessive pronoun, *ἐμοῖς*; the prevailing opinion is that the form should always be *ἐμοῖσι*, though I should for my own part hesitate to follow Nauck in the attempt to eliminate *-οις* from Homer. Still I would not undertake to defend *ἐμοῖς* here, for there is no particular reason why Odysseus should wish to call attention to the fact that the hall belonged to him. As an indication of the scene of his intended operations *ἐν μεγάροισι* alone is quite sufficient. Hence van Leeuwen and da Costa suggest tentatively in a foot-note:—

ἐν μεγάροισι κατακτείνωμι.

This might perhaps be supported by the consideration that if *κατα* were represented by $\overline{\kappa\tau}$, it would easily be lost by a lipography before *κτείνωμι*, and then the deficiency might be supplied by the easy supplement *ἐμοῖς*.

On the other hand if *ἐμοῖς* has a more substantial basis, and the possessive pronoun of the first person be after all, as is not unlikely, correct, I should think it must originally have belonged to *δμῳάς*, cf. δ 736 *δμῶ' ἐμόν* :—

δμῳὰς ἐν μεγάροισιν ἐμάς.

By thus emphasising their status in relation to himself, the speaker makes by implication an assertion of his legal right to put the offending women to death.

*

τ 518 ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κούρη, χλωρηῒς ἀηδών,
καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινοῖσι,—

The form of the noun ἔαρος raises questions of some interest. What is the relation between ἔαρος and εἴαρος, and what would be the correct form of the nominative, ἔαρ or εἶαρ, in epic poetry? We have here but one other instance of ἔαρος in Homer:—

Z 147 φύλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη
τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη· (v. l. ὥρῃ).

On the other hand, for εἴαρος there is but one passage, of which account need be taken,

Hym. Dem. 174:—

αἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἢ ἔλαφοι ἢ πόρτιες εἴαρος ὥρῃ—.

As for the Hymn to Pan (XIX 17 ἔαρος), it is obviously too late a production to have any weight as evidence of a genuine epic form. Then there is the adjective εἰαρινός occurring about half a dozen times. Van Leeuwen and da Costa always print ἐαρινός (e conjectura) with of course an initial digamma. Their view is practically the same as that of Payne Knight. It may be given advantageously in his own words, v. *Proleg. in Homerum*, p. 80: Prima syllaba in casibus obliquis (sc. ἔαρος) quoties e tono et impetu pronunciandi producta sit, toties in ει diphthongum, grammaticis ac librariis fulcrum solitum inserentibus, mutata est: perperam: ubicunque enim tres syllabae breves in unam vocem concurrerent, primam producere licuit. εἶαρ casu recto poetae recentiores ex Homericis male intellectis sibi confinxerunt, et inter alia ejusmodi ἀνώμαλα ad metrum supplendum, quoties expedire visum esset, adhibuerunt.

To the same effect we read in Liddell and Scott:—"ἔαρ, ἔαρος, τό, Hom. and Hdt.: in later Epic Poets, as Theocr. and

Nicander, *εἶαρ, εἴαρος*." As a matter of fact the nom. is not found in Homer, but occurs in Hesiod, *Works* 490, where the first foot is considerately supposed to be a spondee, but cannot possibly be right:

μηδέ σε λήθοι
μήτ' ἔαρ γιγνόμενον πολιὸν, μήθ' ὥριος ὄμβρος,

though except for the neglect of the digamma it is supported by an equally depraved dative in l. 460 of the same poem:—

ἔαρι πολεῖν· θέρεος δὲ νεωμένη οὔ σ' ἀπατήσει.

Another faulty verse hereabouts also contains *ἔαρ*, this time as a dissyllable:—

476 *εὐοχθέων δ' ἴξεαι πολιὸν ἔαρ, οὐδὲ πρὸς ἄλλους*—,

where moreover there is some lack of clearness about the meaning intended to be conveyed. Such then is the case, in its strength and weakness, in favour of *ἔαρ, ἔαρος*.

There is another view however of this question, resting on ancient authority and supported by unquestionable analogy. The later Epic poets may have been in the right after all, and may in this case have accurately maintained or restored the forms valid in the older Epic. There must be at least a strong presumption in their favour, if only because they had access to better traditional authority than we possess at present, or can hope to recover from all the sands of Egypt. In his admirable *Homeric Grammar*, to which I have been so often indebted, Mr Monro, in treating of the primary suffixes § 114, observes that the ancient grammarians noticed that *the stem before -αρ is long* (Herodian ii, 769 ed. Lentz). This dictum is for Homer borne out by a fair array of instances, *ἄλειφαρ, ἄλκαρ, εἶδαρ, εἶλαρ, ἦμαρ, ἦπαρ, οὖθαρ, ὄνειαρ, πῖαρ* (?) and *πεῖραρ*. In later times a distinct preference for a short stem before this suffix seems to have generally prevailed. So for the nom. of *κτεάτεσσι* we have *κτέαρ* given, for that of *στέατος* (*ϕ* 178, 183) *στέαρ*, analogous to the Tragic *κέαρ*. None of these forms however, *κτέαρ, στέαρ, κέαρ*, occur in Homer. For *στέατος* in the two places in which it occurs, it would be easy to read *στείατος* by

merely removing a needless δέ (*ἐκ στείατος ἔνεικε*), which now is uncomfortably short before *στ*, and as to *κτεάτεσσι* we have a nom. *κτέρας* Ω 235 &c., which suggests *κτερέεσσιν* as the right reading, lost because of the special sense which generally attaches to the plur. *κτέρεα*. The only trustworthy Homeric instances of a short stem before *-αρ*, so far as I am aware, are the indeclinable pair *ὄναρ* and *ὕπαρ*, to which must be added *δάμαρ* (Ξ 503, δ 126), which from the production of its last syllable before a vowel in both passages would seem to have retained in Homer's day its original ϛ (*δάμαρϛ*). *φρεῖαρ*, later *φρέαρ*, I have omitted from my list because it does not occur in the nom., but there can be little doubt about its correctness. We have Φ 197 *φρείατα*: but *φρέατι* appears *Hym. Dem.* 99:—

Παρθενίῳ φρέατι, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται.

Porson however was undoubtedly right in his transposition *φρείατι Παρθενίῳ*. We see therefore that little warrant for the correctness of *ἔαροϛ* can be found in Homer—the analogical evidence is altogether, or almost altogether, adverse. As for Hesiod, the reckless modernisation of the quoted passages is painfully obvious. To suppose that either *μήτ' ἔαρ* or *ἔαρι πολεῖν* was written by Hesiod would be to exceed the limits of credulous simplicity. If in such a case as l. 490 an attempt to restore the original were desirable, I would suggest:—

μηδέ σε λήθοι
εἶαρ γιγνόμενον πολιὸν μηθ' ὥριος ὄμβροϛ.

In l. 460 may not *ἔαρι* be a gloss on *ἦρι*, which would make a fair contrast with the converse adverb used in l. 484 *ὄψ' ἀρόσῃϛ*? For l. 476 I content myself with tentatively suggesting, *ut in re desperata*, *εὐοχθέων δ' ἐϛ εἶαρ ἀφίξεαι*. It is no matter for surprise however, if occasionally the moderniser has wrought irretrievable ruin.

But if we are obliged to condemn *ἔαροϛ* in τ 519 and Z 148 as a very questionable, if not quite impossible, form for the old Epic, how comes it there at all? In both cases, I should say, it

represents an original *θέρεος*, which would serve especially in combination with *νέον* to mark, in accordance with the ancient dichotomy of the year into *θέρος* and *χεῖμα*, the very same time as *ἔαρος* now indicates. We can easily see that *ἔαρος* would readily be preferred in later times to *θέρεος* as a more precise and correct expression.

T. L. AGAR.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The following words are not to be found in the seventh edition of Georges' *Ausführliches lateinisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch.*

adblandiri: Hil. Pict. *Tract. in Ps.* 140. 6 (793. 5 Zingerle).

amictum: Novatian *Trin.* 21 (16) *fin.* Cf. *uoltum.*

benenuntiare aliquem: Hil. *Comm. in Matt.* 11. 3. Cf. Rönsch *Beitr.* 3. 10.

calcatio: Es. lxiii. 2 (O.L.) in Cyprian *Ep.* 63. 7.

celsitas: Cypr. *Ep.* 39. 4, Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 148. 6 (863. 21 Z.).

circumseptus domorum (subst.): Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 143. 23 (827. 21 Z.).

concertatus (subst.): Ambr. *Ep.* 37. 37.

confibulare: Novatian *Trin.* 24 (19).

confibulatio foederis: *ib.* 23 (18).

congignere: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 91. 6 *fin.*

contonare (personal): Hieron. *Ep.* 14. 6.

contuitio: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Caph 2, 3 (451. 20, 452. 3 Z.).

cumquando (= quandoquidem): Hil. Pict. *Comm. in Matt.* 12. 13, 17. 2, *Trin.* vii. 8, and often.

debet (impersonal): Hermas (Palatine Version) *Mand.* 8. 1, Cypr. *Ep.* 8. 3 (a Roman letter).

disproficit: Hil. *Trin.* xi. 11.

epirus: Aug. *C. D.* xv. 27 (2. 118. 12 Dombart). Some kind of fastening, being mentioned with *suscudines* and *clani.*

epulatorius: Ambr. *Ep.* 67. 14.

exclamitare: Hieron. *Ep.* 39. 6 (5).

exultantia = gaudium: Cypr. *Ep.* 76. 7.

fallenter: Novatian *Trin.* 18 (26).

frequentabilis = frequens (crowded): Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 131. 15 *fin.*

furiax: Ps. Cypr. *de Aleat.* 9, 11. Cf. *furire* = furere, for which add Dracontius *Hylas* 29 to Georges' instances. So also *abstinax* in the vulgar Latin of Petronius 42 (Bücheler's *Cena Trimalchionis* 28. 11). For the similar form *praegnax* add Bücheler's *Carm. Epigr.* 498. 4 (Italian), and for *uigilax* the 16th Council of Toledo (A.D. 693) Bruns I. p. 368 *in.*, 372 *fin.*, 379 *fin.*

geranopepa: Hieron. *Ep.* 22. 28.

gubernanter: Cypr. *Ep.* 48. 4.

horret (impersonal): Cypr. *Ep.* 73. 5; and see Prof. J. E. B. Mayor in the *Classical Review* xi. 259.

inconsiderato: Tertullian *Praescr.* 1.

ininitiabilis Deus: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Koph 9 (527. 20 Z.).

inlapsus (adj.): Cypr. *ad Don.* 5.

inluuio: Ps. Apul. *Asclep.* 26 (49. 5 Goldb.).

inmurmuratio: Ambr. *Ep.* 63. 56.

innumerosus: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 122. 6 (584. 8 Z.).

insalutaris: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Mem 11 (472. 20 Z.).

insignium: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 131. 27 (682. 20 Z.).

inuectrix: Ambr. *Ep.* 63. 13.

lēuificare: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 51. 8 (103. 1 Z.).

mercatrix: *ib.* 118 Nun 4 (476. 25 Z.).

mirabulum: Priscian *Periegesis* 876.

munerator: Cypr. *ad Fort.* 12 (345. 1 H.), Hil. *Trin.* ii. 7.

obaequalitas: Apul. *Dogm. Plat.* i. 17 (79. 2 Goldb.).

pecudeus: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Vau 1 (411. 16 Z.), (p. hebetudo), 146. 10 (852. 8).

plumbeae = plumbatae: Ambr. *Ep.* 40. 29.

praeitor: Hil. *Comm. in Matt.* 11. 1.

praesumpte: Ambr. *Ep.* 13. 4.

praeteritor = transgressor (legis): Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 118 Samech 4 (489. 11 Z.).

prolator erroris: Hieron. *Ep.* 98. 22, Ps. Cypr. *Sing. Cler.* 36.

quotidem: Hil. *Comm. in Matt.* 15. 10, 20. 6, *Trin.* ii. 22 &c.

quotiensque = quotienscumque: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 9. 2, 52. 5 (76. 6, 120. 17 Z.), and often.

reprouehere: Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 91. 4 *in.*

sepultus (? -um) = sepulcrum: C.I.L. viii. 9798.

significus: Apul. *de deo Socratis* 21 (24. 9 Goldb.).

subinuolare: subinuolantes mores *tr.* *ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος* Iren. 2. 32. 5.

sublicus: Apul. *Met.* 4. 13 (64. 23 Eyss.).

tormenta (fem.). So probably in Cypr. *Test.* ii. 14 and Lact. *Inst.* iv. 16. 9. See Brandt in Wölfflin's *Archiv* v. 286, who compares *la tourmente.* Tormentum = storm, a sense not given by Georges, occurs in Apul. *Mund.* 12 (115. 13 Goldb.).

unimos: unimores Ps. lxvii. 7 in Hil. *Tract. in Ps.* 67. 8 (282. 13 Z.).

uerabidus: Hieron. *Ep.* 9 lynces...hostem suum uerabido ore dilaniant.

uiritus: Novatian *Trin.* 2 Deus omni uirtute uiritior.

uisceraliter misericors = *πολύσπλαγχνος* Jac. v. 11 (ff.).

With few exceptions, renderings from the Greek in the different forms of the Latin Bible and in Irenaeus have been omitted.

E. W. WATSON.

HERMAS AND CEBES—A REPLY.

The last number of this Journal contained an article under the title of Hermas and Cebes, in which it was maintained "that the *Tabula* is one of the principal sources of the *Pastor*." There is nothing intrinsically improbable in this contention. A book which was evidently well-known in the time of Tertullian, whose kinsman expounded its subject-matter in a cento from Vergil[1], may very well have been familiar to Hermas. Neither, so far as I can see, is there the slightest theological or antitheological end to be gained either by affirming or denying a connexion between the two works. If such a connexion were established, it would only go to show in a particular case what everyone must admit in general, namely, that Christianity is deeply indebted to Stoicism. For, without entering at present into the question of the date and authorship of Cebetis Tabula, it may be allowed me to say in passing, that either the treatise is a Stoic production, or else, if it were written by its reputed author, then Cebes, and not Zeno, was the real founder of the moral philosophy of the Stoics. The "discovery" of the close connexion between the Pastor of Hermas and the Picture of Cebes is not due to Dr Taylor himself, the writer of the article in question, but to Dr J. M. Cotterill—a secret which is revealed to us at the end. To him Dr Taylor has played the part which Chrysippus played to Cleanthes, to whom he is recorded to have said "Give me the doctrines and I will find the proofs." It is into the validity of Dr Taylor's proofs that it is the object of this paper to inquire. The task will be one of peculiar

[1] Tert. *de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, xxxix.—Meus quidam propinquus ex eodem poeta inter cetera stili sui otia Pinacem Cebetis explicuit.

difficulty, resembling as it does an attempt to lay siege to the town of Cloudcuckooborough.

"The Pastor," begins Dr Taylor, "is constructed on the same lines as the *Tabula*." This is a statement which it is difficult to answer except by saying that no two works could well be more unlike, which seems rather a brusque way of dealing with the matter. The proofs which are offered of it are these—

(1) that there is an introduction to both works;

(2) that in each case the introduction begins with some lines of narrative;

(3) that there is a stranger mentioned in the Picture, and that, as Hermas originally came as a slave to Rome, he was also a stranger;

(4) that there is dialogue in both works.

At the beginning of the Picture there is a striking passage about the riddle of the Sphinx. If the Pastor is founded on the Picture, then, as Dr Taylor justly remarks, we may look for some allusion in it to the Sphinx's riddle. Now from the beginning to the end of the Pastor there is to the unillumined eye no sign of any such allusion. Dr Taylor however finds two such allusions.

(1) In the First Vision the Church is represented as old and seated on a chair (*καθέδραν*, Vis. III, 11, § 2); in the Second she is standing and looking younger; in the Third she is looking still younger, and is seated on a bench. Hermas is careful to explain his own imagery as referring to the religious revival of which he was himself the instrument: but this will not do for Dr Taylor. The bench has four feet, and is therefore a tetrapod, whence it may be inferred that the chair was a tripod; and when the Church stands on her own two feet, how can it be denied that she is a dipod? Here then we have a clear allusion to the

> *δίπουν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ τετράπον, οὗ μία φωνή, καὶ τρίπον.*

(2) The second allusion is even more unmistakeable. In the Picture it is said that the Sphinx "propounded" her riddle to men. In the Hermas there is a great beast, typical of persecution, which at first came on with such a rush that it might have destroyed a city, but when Hermas wrapped himself in his faith, the beast lay down and merely "put out" its tongue. The Greek word on which the argument is founded is in the Picture (line 38) *προεβάλλετο* and in the Pastor (Vis. IV, 1, § 9) *προέβαλλεν.*

The next argument used by Dr Taylor is that the word *παρακούειν*, which occurs twice in Cebes (ll. 49, 523), occurs also in Vis. IV, 2, § 6.

In the Picture (l. 54) we have the phrase *οὐ παρέργως*, and again (l. 583) the word *πάρεργα.* Neither of these expressions occurs in the Pastor, but then Hermas is called by the Church *περίεργος* (Vis. IV, 3, § 1)—a plain proof of imitation.

In the Picture (line 54) we have the phrase *ἀναλαβὼν ῥάβδον τινά*, in the Pastor (Vis. III, 2, § 4) *ἐπάρασα ῥάβδον τινά.* "Thus," says Dr Taylor, "the pointer which Senex uses in describing the *Πίναξ* is converted into a magic wand with which the Church conjures up her mysterious vision of a great tower." p. 291.

Cebes (l. 59) happens to drop the expression *τοῦτο πρῶτον.* With this we are told to compare the beginning of Mand. I, *πρῶτον πάντων*, and are further informed that Mand. I is "a short practical summary of the teaching of the Tabula." The evidence for this statement is solely that it contains the words *πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιοσύνης.* Otherwise Mand. I is an exhortation to believe in God as the creator of all things, and contains the very doctrine which distinguishes Christian Theism from Greek Philosophy, namely, that of the creation of the world out of nothing. To Plato and Aristotle God and Matter existed side by side from all eternity; to the Stoics God was Matter: it was left for the Christians to say "God created Matter," and this dogma came from the Jews. To call the passage which contains it a "practical summary of the teaching of the *Tabula*" is really devoid of meaning.

A notable difference between the language of theology and

that of Greek philosophy is the higher meaning assigned by the former to ζωή. With the Greek philosophers βίος meant the rational life and ζωή mere physical life, which was shared even by a plant. It requires ingenuity to find in this fact an argument for imitation of Cebes on the part of Hermas. Yet even this feat is accomplished by Dr Taylor as follows—"In turning the Πίναξ into a picture of Christian life it would be natural to take a hint from St Matthew xix, 17, 'if thou wilt enter into life (ζωήν), keep the commandments.' Hermas accordingly turns βίος into ζωή, using βιωτικός in a disparaging sense of the things of 'this life,' as in Mand. v, 2, § 2."

So far I have followed Dr Taylor's arguments seriatim, but, for the avoidance of prolixity, it becomes necessary now to adopt a more summary method, and endeavour to bring them under heads. The great bulk of them rest on the false assumption that, if a word is common to Cebes and Hermas, it must have been borrowed by Hermas from Cebes. Now it is hardly necessary to remark that the mere occurrence of a word in two authors is no proof that one has borrowed from the other. If it were, then any work could be shown to be based on any preceding one in the same language. But even the Greek language is not so copious as to allow every author to have his own stock of words. We have already had instances of the employment of the above-mentioned postulate: but it is not only used, but absolutely worked to death. A few more instances will suffice to make this point clear. The word 'difficult' (χαλεπός) is used by Cebes: we are duly presented with instances of its employment by Hermas. So immediately afterwards with the word 'promise' (ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι). In the Picture (l. 131) the votaries of Fortune are represented as rejoicing and weeping: on the head of this we are referred to Vis. III, 3, § 2, where the same two verbs (χαίρειν and κλαίειν) are employed, as if joy and grief were not as old as the world, and as universal as light and darkness. The word σπανίως is used by Cebes (l. 226); accordingly we are referred to Vis. IV, 1, § 2, where σπανίως is a variant for ῥᾳδίως. But it is not necessary that the actual word used by Cebes should occur even as a variant in Hermas. Something like it will do. Thus

ἐκπεπετάκεισαν τὰς χεῖρας in Sim. IX, 3, § 2 must be imitated from ἐκτετάκασι τὰς χεῖρας of Cebes (l. 262), though the action indicated is altogether different; κατέβησαν in Sim. IX, 16, § 6 betrays imitation of προσκαταβαίνουσι in line 272 of the Picture; and we find a reminiscence of φωτὶ πολλῷ καταλαμπόμενος (Ceb. Tab. l. 283) in the use of the words λαμπρός and λαμπηδών by Hermas. This however is a mere trifle to the sagacity of a critic, who can find proof of imitation in the use by both authors of a phrase equivalent to *et cetera*. For the words ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσιά ἐστι καὶ ὅμοια (Mand. VI, 2, § 5) we are referred back to Cebes (l. 136), καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια.

The fact seems to be that Dr Taylor has so thoroughly accepted the foregone conclusion, that the Pastor *is* imitated from the Picture, that he is ready to find evidence everywhere in support of this great dogma. Or, like a man who has gazed intently on a bright object and transfers its image to the next thing he sees, so Dr Taylor reads the Picture into the Pastor, where to the normal eye there is no appearance of it. But because he himself suffers from a fixed idea of this sort, it is a little hard that Hermas should be accused of folly on that account. There is a drawing-room pastime which consists in working in certain prescribed words into a poem or story. This is the kind of intellectual exercise, somewhat resembling that of Tertullian's kinsman, on which Dr Taylor supposes Hermas to have been engaged, when he wrote his Pastor. If he can bring in ideas, so much the better, but words without ideas will do. That this is really the conception in Dr Taylor's mind will appear from a few quotations. He tells us in advance that "Hermas, as we shall see, makes some sort of use of everything noteworthy in the *Tabula* that he can contrive to bring into his Christian allegory." Now here are some of the ways in which we see it. In the allegory of Cebes there is a gate into the place called Life. Now in the interpretation of the ninth Parable (Sim. IX, 12, § 1) we are told that the 'gate' is the Son of God. On this Dr Taylor remarks that there is doubtless an allusion to St John x, 7, 9, but that the word πύλη is borrowed from Cebes (l. 61), as is also the case with

the word *θύρα* (Ceb. Tab. l. 245: Vis. III, 9, § 6). Hermas therefore has scored two points in the game. One might have thought that the "great rock" on which the Church was founded (Sim. IX, 2, § 1) was sufficiently accounted for by Christian sources, but for this also we are referred to line 257 of the Picture. In the Picture there is a crowd at the gate of Life, in the Pastor there is a crowd building the tower. "Having converted," observes Dr Taylor, "the crowd at the gate of life into stones"—here there follows a sly reference to the "lively stones" of 1 Pet. ii, 5—"Hermas might have dispensed with the word *ὄχλος*, but he is bent upon bringing it in. He does this by imagining a multitude of builders" (p. 293).

Again in the Picture two strong women, *Ἐγκράτεια* and *Καρτερία*, drag the pilgrims up the steepest part of the ascent. It would be a pity if Hermas failed to bring in this expression into his cento. The following is the way in which he manages it. "The first tower standing low down *ἐπὶ ὑδάτων*, Hermas to bring in *ἕλκειν ἄνω* imagines stones for the building of it *ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ ἑλκομένους*" (Vis. III, 2, § 6) p. 304.

Despite his ingenuity however, it may be questioned whether Hermas always plays the game quite fairly. Thus can *ἀπέβαλλον*, "rejected," in Vis. III, 2, § 7 be accepted as an equivalent for *ἀποβάλλοντες*, "losing," in Ceb. Tab. l. 131? Can *φορτίον* in its ordinary sense of 'burden' (Sim. IX, 2, § 4) do service for *τὰ φορτία* used of ships' cargoes (Ceb. Tab. l. 470)? Above all can we allow of this manœuvre on the part of the astute Hermas?—"Not wanting the word *γεμίζειν* here Hermas uses it of another sort of vessel in Mand. XII, 5, § 3," that is to say, for *γεμίζονται* used of ships lading (Ceb. Tab. l. 471) we are expected to accept *γεμίσῃ* of a man filling wine-jars.

The theological faculty in Oxford do not approve of Hermas. They call him a "muddle-headed theologian," presumably on account of his Adoptionist views, for there is no denying that he is a clear writer, but none of them has overtly expressed such disrespect for his understanding as Dr Taylor does by implication. Let us do him the justice to suppose that in writing his visions, commandments, and parables he was guided

by a desire to edify the Church rather than to bring in so many words from Cebes.

I will only add in conclusion that Mr C. S. Jerram, whose edition of Cebetis Tabula has been used by Dr Taylor, is quite at one with me in believing that there is nothing in the Pastor which might not just as well have been written, if Hermas had never seen or heard of the Picture.

ST GEORGE STOCK.

NOTE ON *HERMAS AND CEBES—A REPLY.*

The foregoing *Reply* (pp. 87—93) to the article *Hermas and Cebes* in vol. XXVII. 276—319 is useful as calling attention to things in it liable to misconstruction, whether for want of further explanation or for any other reason.

1. To begin with a remark which has no bearing on the relation of the *Pastor* to the *Tabula,* the authorship of the discovery of the close connexion between them is said to be "a secret which is revealed to us at the end" (p. 87). The reader might fairly accept this statement about so simple a matter as not likely to be inexact. But if he should proceed to verify it he will read at the end of vol. XXVII., "the discoverer referred to at the beginning of this article is Dr J. M. COTTERILL." Then in the first paragraph (p. 276) he will find the information that the name "will be given" at the end of the article, viz. on page 319. In a passage on *Mand.* i. specially referred to in the *Reply* (p. 89) the initials J. M. C. (p. 292) indicate the authorship of the short summary in terms of the *μυθολογία* of Cebes.

2. That the *Pastor* is "constructed on the same lines as the *Tabula*" (p. 88) is a statement into which the *Reply* reads something very different from what was meant by it. The traditional way of quoting the parts of *Hermae Pastor* being retained, it was pointed out that "Properly speaking" the so-called *Vis.* v. belongs to the "Book of the Shepherd", *Vis.* i.—iv. standing apart as an introduction in which the Shepherd does not appear. Traces of the introductory part of the *Tabula* are then pointed out in *Vis.* i.—iv., and it is noted that this is the corresponding part of the *Pastor.*

3. Of the *Pastor* and the *Tabula* it is said in the *Reply*, without explanation, that "no two works could well be more unlike" (p. 88). There may be, as I have written, an "essential difference" between them (p. 38), but this does not preclude resemblance and organic relationship. The comparatively lengthy *Pastor* covers more ground than the *Tabula*, but this and parts of the *Pastor* have marked features in common, and their affinities have to be accounted for.

Patristic writers bring together all manner of forms of the *Two Ways*. Justin Martyr (quoted in vol. XXI. 245) quotes Xenophon as saying that Hercules at the parting of the ways found *τήν τε Ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν Κακίαν ἐν γυναικῶν μορφαῖς φαινομένας κ.τ.λ.* His contemporary "Hermas", I should say, and "Cebes" before him used the same story as material for their allegories, both replacing Virtue and Vice by a multitude of particular virtues and vices personified. Hermas in *Sim.* ix. has twelve Christian graces and their opposites, the four *δυνατώτεραι* in the latter dodecad being *Ἀπιστία*, *Ἀκρασία*, *Ἀπείθεια*, *Ἀπάτη*. To this group correspond in the *Tabula* *Ἀκρασία*, *Ἀσωτία*, *Ἀπληστία*, *Κολακεία*, and *Ἀπάτη* plays a leading part elsewhere therein. The two writings having this peculiar dramatic element in common, the question naturally arises whether they are independent; and a careful comparison of them seems to me to shew that Hermas, like Lucian in two places (p. 24), imitated Cebes.

4. Of Hermas it is said, "there is no denying that he is a clear writer" (p. 92). Certainly much of the *Pastor* is plain teaching; but it also, as is well known, contains some enigmas, and in places its imagery is anything but transparent and natural.

For example, of the *πύλη* and entrance by it Hermas says in *Sim.* ix. 2—4, 12, according to Dr Harmer's rendering, "Now this rock was ancient, and had a gate hewn out of it... And around the gate stood twelve virgins... I saw six men come,... and they summoned a multitude of men... And the six men ordered them to build a tower above the gate... Now the virgins had spread out their hands, as if they would take some-

thing from the men... And the six men called to the virgins, and ordered them to carry all the stones which should go unto the building of the tower, and to pass through the gate and to hand them to the men that were about to build the tower... For if, [say they,] they be not carried in through the gate by the hands of these virgins, they cannot change their colours. Labour not therefore, [say they,] in vain... This rock, saith he, and gate is the Son of God... Thus, saith he, no one shall enter into the kingdom of God, except he receive the name of His Son. For if thou wishest to enter into any city,... canst thou enter into that city except through the gate which it hath?"

It is not according to nature that the fitness of stones for a building should depend upon their being carried by any person or persons through a gate; nor is men's entrance into a city "through the gate which it hath" a complete parallel to the conveyance of stones for a tower through a preexistent gate over which it is going to be built. Something simpler must underlie such symbolism. Its incongruities are accounted for by the supposition that Hermas began with the gate of life (*βίος*) according to Cebes, made the gate stand for the Son of God, and converted the crowd at the gate into stones for the tower (Matt. iii. 9, 1 Pet. ii. 4—5). His use of *Cebetis Tabula* is then confirmed by verbal coincidences, such as those pointed out in vol. XXVII. 293. My words introduced on page 90 with the remark, "Yet even this feat &c.", seem to me to express well enough what I meant, which is simply, Given that Hermas was turning the Πίναξ into a picture of Christian life, it was natural that he should use *ζωή* from the New Testament instead of *βίος*, cf. "strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth *εἰς τὴν ζωήν*."

5. The article *Hermas and Cebes* is a set of notes on things as they occur in the Πίναξ, and not in order of their importance. The *Reply* follows it a little way "seriatim" and indiscriminately, but does not rightly represent what I wrote. About words common to Hermas and Cebes I of course do not make the assumption with which I am credited (p. 90). Some

verbal coincidences are merely noted and left to the judgment of the reader. When I conclude that Hermas borrowed from Cebes, there is some reason for it, although it may not be explicitly stated.

In vol. XXVII. 294 I wrote,

c. 98, 233 *ἀληθινὴ ὁδός*] *Vis.* iii. 7. 1 *ἀφίουσιν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀληθινήν*,

not intending at the time to say anything more on the point. To some readers this use of *ἀληθινή* by the two writers may seem quite unimportant. Commentators however have been struck by the phrase *ὁδὸν ἀληθινήν* in the *Pastor* and have done their best to illustrate it, but with only partial success (p. 34). The exact parallel in the *Πίναξ* is therefore of some significance, and I think it a tenable and probably right view that Hermas took the phrase "true way" from Cebes.

One of the characters common to the *Pastor* and the *Tabula* is *Ἐγκράτεια*. In the *Tabula* *Ἐγκράτεια* and *Καρτερία* make signs to the ascending pilgrims, and descend and drag them up the steepest part of the way. In the *Pastor* the virgins, including *Ἐγκράτεια*, receive the stones, which represent the climbers of Cebes, and carry them up to the tower. The actions are not altogether different, but as nearly as was possible identical. Compare the versions of this in vol. XXVII. 303, 305 and the *Reply* (p. 92).

I conclude that here, as elsewhere, Hermas is under obligation to Cebes. On the free handling of famous writings by imitators and adapters see the words of Tertullian quoted on page 24. Hermas has been thought to be a very simple, not to say senseless writer; but I have long thought that he had more knowledge and literary skill than he is commonly imagined to have had.

6. *Hermas and Cebes* presupposes investigations by which the hypothesis that Hermas used the *Tabula* had been already arrived at. The *chair* and the *bench* (p. 88) were discussed in a paper read before the article was written, and sufficient reason (I think) was given for taking the chair to be tripodal.

The argument for an allusion to the *Tabula* in the *θηρίον μέγιστον* of Hermas does not rest upon or begin with the word *προβάλλειν* (p. 89). Chap. XXII. f. of Cebes on the crowning of those who have prevailed in or over *τοὺς μεγίστους ἀγῶνας* and *τὰ μέγιστα θηρία* would have been noticed by Hermas, and he is supposed to have reproduced it with necessary variations. See page 31 and vol. XXVII. 284, 290, 310.

As an instance of necessary variation take also the symbolism of the round stones in the *Pastor*, which is accounted for by the *Tabula*, but, so far as I know, had not been explained by any commentator. See vol. XXVII. 278, 282, 294.

Adopting again a method which I had found useful on former occasions, I followed the order of the earlier work in comparing it with the later, and aimed first of all at completeness in the comparison. This involved the inclusion of some things of doubtful validity or minor importance, on which the reader might wrongly suppose that stress was laid. An advantage of the method is that it detects hidden coincidences, and thereby explains the later work by the earlier. For another example of this see *Sim.* vi. of Hermas, in which the story of *Ἀπάτη* and *Τιμωρία* is found to reappear (XXVII. 294, 297), with sheep for men.

C. TAYLOR.

CONTROVERSIES IN ARMENIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

I.

The Site of Tigranocerta.

A. The Controversy and its present position.

Any historian wishing to deal adequately and intelligently with the campaigns of the Roman general Lucullus in Armenia in B.C. 69 or with Corbulo's expedition in that same country in A.D. 59 finds himself at once confronted with, and compelled to make up his own mind upon, the hotly disputed question and famous controversy of the site of the city Tigranocerta, founded by Tigranes the Great. This decision of his is essential if he is to describe either the course of events or, especially, the strategy of the commanders in any but a perfunctory and unsatisfactory manner.

The site of the city has for long years been subject of controversy, and generally has remained as undetermined as the question of the site of Rhandeia and the identification of the River Arsanias, which however are matters for subsequent inquiry. But the authorities which may help to determine the matter or to make confusion worse confounded are so scattered, so immersed, the ancient among them in contradictions, the more modern in German and English, mostly German, periodical literature, that, inasmuch as a summary and comprehensive view of the whole controversy has never been presented, so far as I know, whether in German or in English, I propose now in this paper to present and discuss the whole controversy up to date, and to draw positive conclusions for my own immediate

use therefrom. And if this last proceeding may appear overrash, at least I may hope to have presented more material for discussion than is available in any one source at present. That my criticism is what Mommsen calls "Writing-Table" criticism only is unavoidable, and the travellers whom I hope to introduce in course of this paper must necessarily tell their own tale, I being but their mouthpiece—a fact which, I am inclined to believe, conduces at least to calmness of judgment in one whose present function is exposition and recapitulation, not partisan championship.

The ancient authorities are Tacitus, Pliny, Strabo, Plutarch, Eutropius, and the geographers, including specially Ptolemy and the Peutinger Table.

The modern authorities or disputants whose information or opinions must be considered are

1. J. G. Taylor: "Travels in Kurdistan" (Journal of the Royal Geographical Society. Vol. XXXV. (1865), pages 21–58).

2. H. C. Rawlinson (Sir Henry Rawlinson), who reviewed 1 in the Athenaeum for Feb. 14, 1863, a single remark of whose (page 228) has caused much trouble, and is indeed entirely beyond defence.

3. Emil Egli: Feldzüge in Armenien von 41–63 N. CHR. (ap. Büdinger Untersuchungen zur römischen Kaisergeschichte. Band I., pp. 265–364. Leipzig, 1868).

4. Th. Mommsen: "Die Lage von Tigranokerta," in Hermes. Band IX., pp. 129 sqq. Berlin, 1875.

5. H. Kiepert: "Die Lage von Tigranokerta" in the same volume of Hermes, following on to Mommsen. This is a rectification of a former view Kiepert published, and is itself corrected in his latest map, which adopts the Tel Ermen site (cf. infra).

6. Eduard Sachau: (*a*) "Ueber die Lage von Tigranokerta" (ap. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Aus dem Jahre 1880. Abtheilung II., pp. 1–92).

(*b*) Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien. Leipzig, 1883. Pages 398–428.

It will be seen that the six who alone concern us include two travellers and two only, who of course choose, or are used by others to choose, different sites: viz.: Taylor in 1861 and Sachau in Feb.–March, 1880. The sites selected are not confined to those suggested by actual travellers. This goes without saying. For the rest, Roman historians and editors of Tacitus have been bound to offer some remarks, or at least to locate the city, to the best of their ability. But in no case is the result deserving separate consideration: e.g. Schiller in his "Geschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero" (Berlin, 1872) follows the then latest opinion, that of Egli, without any discussion or attempt at discussion, a characteristic feature of that historian's work so far as in yet other disputed questions I have become acquainted with it. Furneaux seems to know of Sachau's researches and travels only in the scanty—it is but a page and a half's—summary of them by H. F. Tozer in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, Vol. II., p. 241 (London, 1883), and this is not sufficient. Neither does George Rawlinson or Merivale contribute anything of independent merit to this particular controversy.

We are left then with six modern writers, including two travellers. In course of time a good many different sites have been suggested for the city. But some of these have no basis save in the fancy of their foster-fathers, such as those mentioned to be rejected, and rightly, by Egli (pages 303–306). The net result is that we are left with four suggested sites to consider, and only four. And of these I include one which is respectable for its antiquity and for nothing else, viz.: Diarbekr. The real claimants which still in some measure hold the field are thus three in number and are distributed among our six modern writers as follows:

Sert, championed by Egli and Sir Henry Rawlinson.

Tel Abâd, championed by Mommsen and (formerly) Kiepert, all basing their conclusions in part on Taylor.

Tel Ermen, championed by Sachau and (now) by Kiepert.

B. The Authorities.

The data supplied by our ancient authorities are not very many, however irreconcileable or indefinite. To these must be added the evidence of "finds," but it will appear that in this particular controversy the spade has been of very little assistance, and Sachau indeed points out (*a*) pp. 61, 62, (*b*) p. 403, that in view of the short space of time during which the city flourished the spade is never likely to be of great assistance. And just at present at any rate the spade-equipped archaeologist can scarcely penetrate regions into which the itinerant equestrian with antiquarian tastes wanders with, I suppose, a pleasing sense of the uncertainty of life.

The data then supplied us by our ancient authorities are these. I present them in no particular order of merit.

(1) *Tacitus*:

A. "Apud oppidum Nisibin, septem et triginta milibus passuum a Tigranocerta distantem." (*Annals* XV. 5. 2.) [37 Roman miles = roughly 34 English miles or 55 kil.]

B. "Occupaverat Tigranocertam, urbem copia defensorum et magnitudine moenium validam. Ad hoc Nicephorius amnis haud spernenda latitudine partem murorum ambit, et ducta ingens fossa, qua fluvio diffidebatur." (*Annals* XV. 4. 2. 3.)

Conclusions:

(1) The city was 37 miles away from Nisibis = the modern Nisibin, in the extreme North of Mesopotamia.

(2) It lay on the river Nicephorius, and this river was of considerable breadth.

(3) Where the river did not defend the town a great trench was dug. And in general it was strong by reason of its great walls and numerous defenders.

i.e. (negatively) its site does not appear to have been naturally a very strong one.

(2) *Pliny*:

A. "Tigris autem ex Armenia, acceptis fluminibus claris Parthenia ac Nicephorione." (*Nat. Hist.* VI. 27. 129.)

B. "Oppida ... in majore [Armenia] ... in excelso autem Tigranocerta." (*Nat. Hist.* VI. 9. 26.)

Conclusions:

(1) The Nicephorius (evidently = Pliny's Nicephorion) was a tributary of the Tigris.

(2) Tigranocerta was in Greater Armenia.

(3) And occupied a lofty site.

(3) *Strabo*:

A. Of Tigranes' founding of the city:

καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισε πλησίον τῆς Ἰβηρίας μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην Ζεύγματος. (XI. 14. 15, p. 532.)

[This is not of much help because no substitution for the unintelligible Ἰβηρίας of the text can be suggested which is philologically possible. Cf. Mommsen (note 1, p. 132) and Sachau (*a*), p. 5.

Zeugma = modern Birejik, the southernmost of the crossings of the Euphrates.]

B. Of the Southern Mountains E. of Euphrates, called "Taurus":

Ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μάσιον, τὸ ὑπερκείμενον τῆς Νισίβιος ὄρος καὶ τῶν Τιγρανοκέρτων. (XI. 12. 4, p. 522.)

[Note: The 'Masius' or 'Masion' range of mountains is definitely part of "Taurus." And "Taurus" separates Armenia from Mesopotamia. Cf. Strabo XI. 12. 2, p. 521, Sachau (*a*), p. 13.

Nisibis is of course in Mesopotamia.]

C. Of Mesopotamia "*παρόρειος*":

ἔχουσι δ' αὐτῆς τὰ μὲν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ καὶ τῷ Ζεύγματι...οἱ Μυγδόνες...ἐν οἷς ἐστιν ἡ Νίσιβις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν Ἀντιόχειαν...προσηγόρευσαν, ὑπὸ τῷ Μασίῳ ὄρει κειμένην, καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ τὰ περὶ Κάρρας καὶ Νικηφόριον χώρια καὶ Χορδίραζα καὶ Σίννακα. (XVI. 1, 23, p. 747.)

D. Of Tigranes' attack on the Mazaceni in Cappadocia:

"ἅπαντας γὰρ ἀναστάτους ἐποίησεν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ τὰ Τιγρανόκερτα ἐκ τούτων συνῴκισε τὸ πλέον." (XII. 2. 9, p. 539.)

Conclusions:

(1) Tigranocerta was in Mesopotamia.

(2) And lay "under" Mount Masius, as did Nisibis.

(3) In the same district as Nisibis, Carrhae, Nicephorium and other places.

(4) Between Zeugma on the Euphrates and some other unknown place.

These data, it may here be remarked, suit the Tacitus data exactly. The city, according to Strabo and Tacitus, lay on the Southern slopes of Masius and thus in Mesopotamia proper. Yet, as founded by an Armenian king and in his dominions, it might be counted as belonging to Armenia—if we keep the Pliny statement. *ὑπὸ* of course may equally by itself suit a site on the Northern slopes of Mt. Masius. But in this case the town could not have been described as in Mesopotamia—which is divided from Armenia by this very Taurus-Masius range, nor would its association with Nisibis and Carrhae be in that case anything but misleading. There cannot be much doubt that Strabo at any rate places the city on the Southern side of the Masius Range, where also Nisibis lay. (Cf. also Sachau (*a*), p. 8.)

(4) *Plutarch*:

Lucullus in B.C. 69 crosses the Euphrates, probably at Melitene; marches through Sophene; crosses the Tigris; and enters Armenia. (Vit. Lucull. c. 24.)

Mithrobarzanes' force is defeated and the leader slain. Tigranes therefore abandons Tigranocerta and retreats to the Taurus and there collects reinforcements. Murena, sent by Lucullus to intercept these reinforcements, pursues and attacks the king as he is passing through a narrow rough defile, and heavily defeats him. (c. 25.)

Lucullus then marches on Tigranocerta and lays siege to it (*ib.*).

Tigranes collects a huge army and marches to raise the siege. He crosses Taurus and then looks down upon the Roman army which is encamped round about the city, and is seen from within the city:—

ὡς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἄθρους κατεφάνη καὶ κατεῖδε πρὸς τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις ἐπικαθήμενον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει βάρβαρος ὅμιλος ὀλολυγῇ καὶ κρότῳ τὴν ὄψιν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐδείκνυσαν τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. (27. 1.)

Lucullus thereupon divides his forces; leaves Murena to contain the besieged and, marching himself to meet the relieving army, encamps "παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ." (c. 27.)

(October 6th.) The Armenian army lay to the East of the river. Where the river was fordable it took a bend towards the West. Lucullus thus hastening to cross by the ford is thought by the enemy to be retreating. He crosses the river and defeats Tigranes. (c. 28.)

Lucullus takes Tigranocerta. (c. 29.)

Conclusions:

This account is not of very great service because of its general topographical vagueness, e.g. to the river by Tigranocerta no name is given. But two points deserve notice.

(1) An army on the higher slopes of Taurus is visible from the city.

(2) The river by the city has to be forded in October.

(5) *Eutropius*:

"Lucullus...Tigranocertam, civitatem Arzanenae, nobilissimam regni Armeniaci, cepit. Inde Nisibin profectus eam quoque civitatem cum regis fratre cepit." (VI. 9. 1.)

[Note: The siege of Nisibis was not, according to Plutarch (Lucull. 32), in the same campaign as that of Tigranocerta, and Eutropius' connection of the two events is somewhat misleading.

Arzanene seems, from its mention in various late Imperial writers, to have been a small district in Southern Armenia, but

on the Northern or left Bank of the Upper Tigris (cf. Amm. Marc. xxv. 7. 9. Procop. *Bell. Pers.* i. 8. Gibbon, ed. Bury, i., p. 375.) Lake "Arsene" is to be connected with the district, and whether this be Lake Van itself or Lake Gölldschik, in either case Arzanene lies N. of the Upper Tigris, being either the district lying South-East of Kharput or—further East—towards or about the Bitlis Su.]

Conclusion:

Tigranocerta lay in Southern Armenia on the Northern or left bank of the Upper Tigris.

(6) *The Geographers*:

The evidence of the Peutinger Table is so perplexing that a special consideration of this must be reserved to the end of this paper. But it clearly places the city North—on the left bank—of the Tigris.

Ptolemy (v. 13, p. 136) mentions Tigranocerta as a town of a district he calls Gordynesia. This is not very clear, but it appears he considered the city to have lain in Armenia proper, and Eutropius may have derived this view from him. Sachau thinks Ptolemy places the town in the valley of the Bohtan Su—(Sachau (*a*), p. 50)—which suits the one view of the district of Arzanene mentioned above.

The Ravennate Geographer mentions a "Tigranocerta" in Parthia (ed. Pinder, p. 50. 2), and a "Tygranocerta" in Media Minor (ib. p. 65. 13). No such name appears in his list of cities in Armenia or in Mesopotamia.

Deferring the evidence from "finds," which will be more conveniently considered in connection with the particular sites suggested, it now appears that these our authorities fall apart into two main classes which are irreconcileable. These are

I. Those who place Tigranocerta in Mesopotamia, on the Southern slopes of Mount Masius-Taurus.

II. Those who place Tigranocerta in Armenia, to the North of the Upper Tigris, and thus of Mount Masius-Taurus.

In the first class must be counted:

(1) Tacitus: because he describes the city as but 37 miles from Nisibis.

(2) Strabo: who throughout is chief authority for this view.

In the second class must be counted:

(1) Eutropius, because he places the city in Arzanene.

(2) Pliny, because he says the Nicephorius is tributary of the Tigris, and this river has no considerable tributary S. of Masius which would in any way suit the remaining data.

(3) The Peutinger Table.

Of the remaining authorities, to the first class incline

(1) Plutarch, because, even if Tigranes retreated before Lucullus Southwards (which is improbable), yet a city north of the Tigris would not be within eyesight of an army on the northern slopes of Masius.

(2) The Ravennate geographer, who ascribes Tigranocerta to Parthia and not to Armenia. But neither does he ascribe it to Mesopotamia, and his authority is thus confusing rather than valuable.

And to the second class inclines

Ptolemy, who, like Pliny, gives the town to Armenia. As has however already been pointed out, Armenia under Tigranes undoubtedly might be taken to include his new city, even though his power reached as far as, and thus his city was founded in, Northern Mesopotamia. And if this be not the case, it is probable that Eutropius and Ptolemy are but equivalent to one authority, viz., Ptolemy.

Summarily then and in all probability we have a Strabo-Tacitus-Plutarch combination ranged on the one side in favour of a Mesopotamian site as against a Ptolemy-Eutropius-Pliny-Peutinger Table combination on the other side in favour of a North-of-the-Tigris site. And it must be admitted that generally speaking the former group is geographically the stronger, not so much because of the curiously precise details of the figure of '37' miles in Tacitus and the "eye sight" of Plutarch, as because Strabo, himself a native of Pontus, pub-

lished his work at a time when the city was famous. Whereas after 63 A.D. it becomes of very little note, and seemingly devoid of any historic interest at the time when Ptolemy flourished in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Pliny would of course be a contemporary witness, as was Strabo, but at best he is but a second-hand geographer for Armenia, and far inferior to the Greek.

Such being the position of the controversy anent the ancient authorities, we turn to

C. The Sites Suggested.

These, as has been said, are four in number, viz.:

I.	Diarbekr: on the Upper Tigris.	N. of Masius.
II.	Sert: N. of Upper Tigris.	
III.	Tel Abâd: S. of Upper Tigris.	
IV.	Tel Ermen.....	S. of Masius.

I. Diarbekr.

This suggestion is one of venerable antiquity, being first made by two Armenian historians, Faustus of Byzantium, who flourished at the end of the IVth and beginning of the Vth century A.D., and Moses of Chorene, formerly ascribed to the Vth, but now to the early part of the VIIIth century. Apart from the antiquity of the suggestion, there does not seem much to recommend it. It is of course entirely inconsistent with the Strabo-Tacitus-Plutarch combination in every particular. Neither does it suit the rival group well. Diarbekr lies on the *right* bank of the Upper Tigris under the Karaja Dagh. Thus it fails to suit the Peutinger-Table. Again, it seems improbable that in antiquity the name Tigris was given either to the Bitlis Su or the Bohtan Su to the exclusion of the main stream. The ancient accounts indeed of this river's early course are confused enough, and complicated by the uncertainty of identification of Lake Thospitis with Lake Arsene, and either or both with Lake Van or Lake Gölldschik to the S. E. of Kharput

(cf. Wünsch, *Mitth. der k. k. geog. Gesellschaft in Wien*, 1885. Band XXVIII., pp. 1—21). But despite the haze of uncertainty it seems most improbable that the Upper Tigris by Diarbekr should have been regarded as a tributary of the river and called (ex. hyp.) the Nicephorius. Neither are there any remains or 'finds' which seem to justify the choice. Neither can Diarbekr be said to lie "in excelso." Losing even Pliny's authority in this way, there is no ground remaining for the choice save pure patriotic fancy, or the undoubted strategical importance of the position. But it is hopeless to defy the authorities and ground one's choice on this *à priori* basis alone here, as in every other topographical controversy. The choice of Diarbekr cannot be justified. Tigranocerta may have been to the later Armenians, as Mommsen suggests (p. 134), what Scheria was to the later Greeks. The site of neither was known, and they chose at random and at pleasure.

II. Sert.

An old view adopted by Egli finds Tigranocerta in Sert, and the river Nicephorius in the Bohtan Su, which joins the Bitlis Su just below the town. The river, according to this view, which Lucullus crossed to attack the Armenian army coming from the North would be the Bitlis Su.

In the weakness of the historical evidence for this site Egli takes refuge in two additional arguments. The one is that the town is admirably placed whether for strategic or commercial advantages, and thus a very likely site for Tigranes to choose. As in the case of Diarbekr, so here, we cannot pin our faith to an argument of this kind in such a controversy. Scores of other claimants, Kharput, Erivan, Bayezid, among them, might start up on this score.

But, secondly, the evidence of digging is here invoked. Taylor (p. 30, 31) speaks of the town as follows:

"The whole of the town has been constructed from the remains of old buildings that have been exhumed from a depth of many feet below the soil. These ancient remains are always found when digging deep foundations for new buildings in the plain, but never on the slope of the hill upon which a portion

of the modern town is built; and they extend for a distance of at least three miles to a spot where some of them are nearer the surface...In no other part of the Pashalik have I ever been able to find any coins of Tigranes, whereas here I bought in one day five of his medals...while other coins, Roman, Sassanian, Byzantine and Cufic, are invariably met with in the excavations, as also a few cameos and finely-executed intaglios."

Egli therefore (p. 305) and Schiller, copying him, declare Sert the probable site of Tigranocerta.

The difficulties are many, and Taylor himself admirably sums them up when, after considering the Tacitus and Strabo statements, he continues:

"These statements, if the general veracity of these authors is considered, are totally irreconcileable with the present position of Saert or any place near it. Nor does the description of Tigranocerta...in Plutarch's account...coincide in the least with Saert."

In very fact Sert is "totally irreconcileable" with the Strabo-Tacitus-Plutarch combination. Instead of being 37 Roman miles from Nisibis it is over 90 miles away. It is nowhere near Mesopotamia, Zeugma, Carrhae, or Mount Masius. Instead of being visible to an army on the Northern slopes of Masius-Taurus, only a heliograph would carry the distance. Only the river suits the description of the Nicephorius excellently, but otherwise to choose Sert means a rejection of Tacitus, Strabo, and Plutarch's scanty but surely valuable data, en bloc.

On the other hand, the site suits the rival combination: Pliny, because the Bohtan Su is a tributary of the Tigris: Eutropius-Ptolemy and the Peutinger-Table because Sert lies on the N. or left bank of the Tigris.

True, it has in its favour the remains of ancient foundations, the finding of coins, &c. But even here the evidence goes too far. The city of Tigranocerta had a brief and troubled existence, and in the famous wars of the 3rd century we never once hear of its existence. Though founded about 80—70 B.C. with magnificence, Lucullus' campaigns dealt it a serious blow. Springing once more into note as the second city of

"Armenia" in 59 A.D., after that it disappears entirely from our ken. Such a mushroom-city would not be likely to leave massive remains spreading over three miles, and, note, remains *not* "in excelso"—there none are found—but "in the plain."

We cannot insist strongly on this archaeological evidence, and without it Sert is a site championed only by the distinctly inferior group of authorities.

III. Tel Abâd.

The third suggested site proposed by Mommsen and accepted (formerly) by both Kiepert and Professor Pelham is that of Tel Abâd—"Der bewohnte Hügel"—as the latest traveller, Sachau, calls it. Taylor, who first described it, calls it Tel Biat: Mommsen and Kiepert Tell Bejâd.

This is described by Sachau, who visited the spot in 1880, as "A round hill, 130 feet high, covered with ruins." It lies three miles S.W. (according to Taylor), N.W. (according to Sachau, who expressly corrects Taylor on this point) of a village, called by Taylor "Keffr Joze," by Sachau Kefr Göz. This village lies on the South side of the Tigris and some hours' ride from Hassan Keif, where there is a ford and ferry over that river. (Mommsen, p. 245. 4 hours' ride acc. to Sachau's local informant at Kefr Göz.) Thus this site may be described as lying on the Northern slopes of Mount Masius and on the South or right bank of the Upper Tigris.

The first actually to suggest that here might be found the site of Tigranocerta seems to have been Sir Henry Rawlinson in his review of Taylor's travels. Those travels we have seen used to support the Sert-theory. Now we find them used on its rival's behalf. But, doubtless unintentionally but none the less carelessly, Rawlinson based his view on a very serious exaggeration of Taylor's words which easily might mislead stay-at-home critics. For purposes of comparison the two passages had best be quoted in parallel columns:

Taylor, p. 35.

"About 3 miles South West of it [Keffr Joze village] is the artificial mound of Tel Biat. It is of some extent and formed of the débris and remains of former buildings, which, I was told at Keffr Jose, yielded numerous medals and intaglios. This is the first portion of Jebel Tur" &c. &c. [Nothing else is said of 'Tel Biat' here.]

H. C. Rawlinson.

Mr Taylor's.....most remarkable discovery I consider to have been that of the ruins of Kefr Joze, *which* he describes as an immense city at the Northern foot of Mount Masius, and the great treasure-house from which the larger portion of the Greek and Parthian coins and gems current in Northern Mesopotamia are procured:* thus leading to the conclusion that we have at last found the site of the famous city of Tigranocerta, which has so long been the despair of modern geographers."

The "conclusion" is Rawlinson's own, and, based as it is on what seems an incredible exaggeration of Taylor's words, cannot carry much weight, as Kiepert, himself then a champion of this site, ruefully remarked (p. 143).

Rawlinson has ascribed to Taylor words the latter never uttered, and his exaggeration is beyond forgiveness.

Under these circumstances the archaeological evidence in favour of this site could not from 1863—1880 be regarded as strong. It was not nearly so strong as that for the Sert-theory. Still Mommsen and (at that time) Kiepert adopted the view and drew elaborate schemes showing how it could be made to fit in with the Peutinger Table names and distances, though in fact the latter had to be almost entirely sacrificed. And the initial fact, startling to one who pinned his faith to the Peutinger Table, that this placed the city North or on the left bank of the Tigris, whereas Tel Abâd lies South and on the right bank of the river, did not, so far as I can discover, disturb their equanimity. The "not-inconsiderable" river Nicephorius had of course to be discovered. And what they described as a small stream running down the valley from Kefr Joze to the Tigris, where the road ran to Hassan Keif, was identified as the desired Nicephorius.

The site in fact suited Pliny in so far as this stream did join the Tigris, and Tel Abâd is "in excelso." It did not suit

* (The Italics are mine.)

Pliny, in so far as this stream was admittedly small. It did not suit Tacitus for this same reason, and also because Tel Abâd is not 37, but 47 miles due N. of Nisibis. It did not suit Strabo, because Mesopotamia did not reach N. of Mount Masius; and Strabo, as we have seen throughout, implies a site on its Southern side. It suited Plutarch indifferently. No doubt a magnificent scheme for Lucullus' campaign could be made out on this understanding, with the Armenian army of relief marching from Mush and Lucullus fording the Tigris to get at them. But the "eye-sight" datum must be taken as a pardonable exaggeration of Plutarch's, and Mommsen, I think with a little hesitation, suggests that "fire-signals" were employed, a suggestion, like the long Polybian treatise on this very means of communication, of great interest to the modern army signaller, but I think a little misplaced in a close and rigorous topographical discussion. The site then suited Plutarch indifferently. It did not suit Eutropius, because Tel Abâd lay on the right side of the Tigris. It did not suit the Peutinger Table for the same reason. The archaeological evidence for it was slight, slighter than that for Sert, and Sert at least suited more of the authorities. What could there, we ask in wonder, be said for this site at any time between Taylor's travels in 1860 and 1880, which, apart from the glamour of the names of Mommsen and Kiepert and Rawlinson's florid imagination, could not have been urged with far greater force on behalf of the then rejected site of Sert, save that it lay nearer to Nisibis and Mesopotamia, though neither the required distance from the former nor in the latter?

Thus matters stood in 1880 when Sachau visited the site. His account of it, which there is no reason to think unfair, may be said finally to dissipate its claims, such as they were, into thin air. This round hill he found covered with walls of former peasants' huts and potsherds of an older date. "But I could not discover the smallest fragment of anything of any great antiquity. Everything there might be of our century.... In other respects the place is insignificant and rightly passed over by Taylor in a few words."

Taylor had declared that *he had been told at Kefr Göz* that

numerous medals and intaglios had been found among the ruins. Rawlinson magnified this into the source of "the larger portion of the Greek and Parthian coins and gems current in Northern Mesopotamia." Sachau, the later traveller on the spot, fared less well. He offered, he declares plaintively, very high prices for finds, and at that time "if there was not actually a famine at Kefr Göz" yet prices ruled very high. Yet not one single coin was produced for sale by the obdurate villagers of Kefr Göz. Indeed "I had the greatest difficulty in making the villagers understand what I meant by 'old coins' or 'cut gems'."

Lastly we come to the question of the river "haud spernenda latitudine," the 'clarus' river Nicephorius.

"South of the hill," says Sachau, "ten minutes distance away, there flows a tiny brook, which springs from several sources one hour distant. It is easily jumped in many places. The water is hardly a foot deep. Indeed, the bed, unless much snow has fallen, is usually dry."

It is not only Mommsen's "small stream" which has dwindled to this: it is the river Nicephorius, which, where it girt the city, was enough to defend it in the late autumn of the year 59 A.D.

Viewing all the authorities, classical, topographical, archaeological, I conclude that it would be well-nigh impossible to select in Armenia a site for Tigranocerta which would be more unpromising and unlikely than the site of Tel Abâd.

IV. Tel Ermen.

Tel Ermen, a Christian village of some 200 houses (in 1880), lies about 3 hours' ride S. of Mardin in the extreme N. of Mesopotamia, the traveller from Nisibis to Mardin diverging to his left to reach it. The hill of Tel Ermen rises about 150 feet above the plain, and is conspicuous far over the plain. Hard by a river, the Zrgân, flows to join the Khabur river, which itself is a not inconsiderable tributary of the Euphrates.

This is the site suggested first by Sachau as that of

Tigranocerta, and now adopted both by Kiepert and Prof. Pelham. As regards 'finds' or 'ruins' the evidence is practically *nil*. True on the hill of Tel Ermen there are ruined remains in a far wider circumference than that covered by the modern village, but all of these are by Sachau ascribed to the town Dunêsir of the Arabian middle ages (*b*, p. 402). And not a few coins seem to have been discovered in the immediate vicinity, the oldest of which may date back to the Seleucids (*b*, p. 425).

Practically, however, this site like all the other sites, Sert only being a possible exception, cannot adduce any archaeological evidence in its favour.

The river, the Zrgân, is not a large one, but is never, so Sachau declares, dry, and in time of flood would form a serious obstacle. Thus in Spring it was found not fordable by both Sachau and Taylor. It runs at the Northern base of the hill of Tel Ermen, and thus, were Tigranocerta built here, would have encompassed part of the circuit of the city, as Tacitus says. The hill again is by no means impregnable or precipitous, though conspicuous. And this again suits the Tacitus description of the city as being strong "by reason of its walls and the number of its defenders," which, arguing negatively, does not imply a strong natural position.

Considering the authorities, it appears that this Tel Ermen site suits Tacitus, for it is just 37 miles from Nisibis: it lies on a river: it is not naturally a strong position. True, the river is perhaps not so large as could be wished. The Bohtan Su at the Sert site is a better Nicephorius. But this Tel Ermen site is on the whole the only one which makes the least pretence of satisfying the Tacitus data in general.

The site suits Strabo admirably in every particular, and again is the only site which does.

It suits Plutarch again, better than any other. For an army crossing Masius-Taurus and descending the Southern slopes would actually be visible to the naked eye from Tel Ermen. An excellent strategic scheme can here too be suggested for the Lucullus-Tigranes warfare. Lucullus would march from the Tigris about Diarbekr viâ the Rubbut pass on

Tel Ermen. Tigranes would retire Northwards viâ the Mardin pass and so escape.

Returning with reinforcements by this same route he would be visible some miles away. Lucullus moves out to meet him and encamps on the open ground E. of the Zrgân river—the Armenians being encamped in the hills to the N.W. over the river. Just above Tel Ermen the river takes a turn to the west. Lucullus marching to cross here seems to Tigranes to be retreating.

Thus the site at Tel Ermen alone of all the sites satisfies the many data of the first, the superior, group of authorities. Therefore it does not satisfy the rival, the inferior, combination. True, it suits Pliny in so far as it may be said to lie quite sufficiently "in excelso." And Furneaux (Tacitus *Annals* II., p. 278–9) here goes entirely wrong when, relying only on Tozer's brief epitome of Sachau's researches, he says "the site...would wholly depart from...Pliny's ... description of the position as on a height." For Tel Ermen is exactly the kind of height which suits both Pliny and Tacitus. But it wholly breaks with Pliny in that its river is (eventually) tributary not of the Tigris, but of the Euphrates. Further, it may be taken to suit Ptolemy, in so far as under Tigranes, if Tigranocerta lay here it might roughly be counted in Armenia. But it is wholly inconsistent with Eutropius and the Peutinger Table "left bank of the Tigris" requisition, which Sert alone satisfies.

Tel Ermen therefore, like Sert, is a site which suits only one of the rival groups of authorities, but, unlike Sert, it suits the better group and suits it, on the whole, admirably.

And here it *is* to the point to remark that this site for Tigranes' new city is strategically excellent. Guarding as it does the two passes over Taurus, the Rubbut Pass and the Mardin Pass, it blocks all hostile inroad from the South into the Upper Tigris valley, and thus into the heart of Armenia. And Tigranes' chief foes when he founded the city were the Parthians. The soil is fertile and water abundant. Vologeses also at Nisibis is clearly in close touch with his forces besieging Tigranocerta in A.D. 61 (*Ann.* XV. 4. 5), as Mommsen

(note, p. 131) points out: and Tel Ermen would satisfy this requirement excellently as well. Finally—a small point but deserving mention—Tacitus states that Vologeses' cavalry during this Nisibis-Tigranocerta campaign were sorely in straits for food owing to the plague of a locust swarm. And the prevalence of such locust swarms precisely in this Mardin-Nisibis district is specially noticed by Taylor (pp. 356, 359).

D. Conclusion.

It may I think be said that no possible site either has been or will be suggested which satisfies the data of all our authorities, because those authorities are irreconcileable.

A site on the left bank of the Tigris cannot be found which is also in Mesopotamia. In view of the authorities for either statement we must deliberately prefer the latter. Thus Tel Ermen is preferable to Sert.

Rejecting then the Eutropius-Peutinger statements or inferences, it is desired, if possible, to find a site which satisfies all the remaining authorities, including Pliny.

Such a site must present the following characteristics: it must be

1. 37 miles from Nisibis.
2. In Northern Mesopotamia S. of Masius.
3. Itself on a hill
4. Partly engirt by a river,
5. Which is not inconsiderable in size,
6. And is tributary of the Tigris.

Could a site be found satisfying all these conditions, there are few indeed who would refuse to accept it.

Such a site cannot be found.

Of the four sites suggested

Diarbekr satisfies the fourth and fifth alone.

Sert satisfies the fourth, fifth, and sixth. But the first two are the most important conditions.

Tel Abâd satisfies the third, and the fourth and sixth in very minor measure.

Tel Ermen satisfies the first, second, third, and fourth; the fifth in part; the sixth not at all.

Having thus viewed the whole controversy from first to last, it may be, I suggest, with some confidence that the historian of the wars whether of Lucullus or of Corbulo selects, out of the sites hitherto suggested, that which Sachau proposes, viz. the hill of Tel Ermen, for the position of the city of Tigranocerta in antiquity.

Appendix: *The Peutinger Table.*

The Peutinger Table places "Triganocarten," an important end terminal because marked by two towers, as the starting point of three roads, and itself on the left bank of the Tigris.

This last datum has already been discussed. It remains to consider whether any trustworthy information can be obtained from the names and distances of the three roads; which may here be described as the upper, the centre, and the lower roads.

The names and distances are as follows:

	Upper	Centre	Lower
Triganocarten	XXX. Zanserio	XV. Thalbasaris	XV. Colchana
	XX. Cymiha	X. Sitae	XLV. Narrara
	XXII. Uyhanas	XII. Adipte	XIII. Ad Tygrem
	XXVII. Patansana	crosses Tigris to	whence twice over
	XXVI. Vastauna	X. Sardebar	river to join centre
	XXXII. Molchia		route at
	XXVI. Vagneuana		XIII. Sardebar
	XV. Flegosna		
	XV. Isumbo		
		X. Arcaiapis	
		XIIII. Sammachi	
		XVII. Aque frigide	
		Arcamo	
		XXX. Thamandi	
		XVI. Nisibi	
		X. Sarbane	
		XXVIII. Sapham	

The Ravennate geographer mentions some of these names as belonging to certain countries: viz. he ascribes to

(1) Parthia: Isumbo, Colcana, Sipte, Adipte, Nabarra, Sardera.

(2) Media Minor: Patransana, Colchanam, Zancerion.

It is abundantly obvious that no possible site in Armenia *can* combine the Peutinger Data with those of the Ravennate geographer, unless Tigranocerta lay on the extreme S.E. of Armenia on the slopes of the Arabak Dagh. Unless and until any such site is suggested we must be content to neglect the information of the Ravennate geographer and confine our attention to the Peutinger Table.

Modern ingenuity has been for the most part baffled in the attempt to identify its names. Exception however must be made for the following suggestions:

I. Upper Road: Patansana = Byz. Βαλαλεσον = mod. Bitlis. Molchia (? Moschia) = mod. Mush.

II. Centre and Lower Roads: Sardebar = mod. Zerzöwe or Zerzâwâ, as the ending âwâ = Persian âbâd. (So Kiepert and Sachau, a strong combination.) Zerzöwe lies on the Tigris, some 10 miles below Diarbekr, just where the river trends eastwards.

Sapham ? = Jezire on the Tigris.

Nisibi of course = Nisibis.

Testing these identifications by modern distances the results are not wholly satisfactory, e.g.

(*a*) { Molchia to Patansana = 58 Roman miles.
Mush to Bitlis = about 37 Roman miles.

(*b*) { Sardebar to Nisibis = 87 Roman miles.
Zerzöwe to Nisibis = about 85 Roman miles.

(*c*) { Nisibis to Sapham = 38 Roman miles.
Nisibis to Jezire = 73 Roman miles.

Following Peutinger distances Sapham can hardly be Jezire and the Molchia-Mush identification looks very doubtful.

Keeping however the Patansana-Bitlis and the Sardebar-Zerzöwe identifications, the Peutinger Table gives us three

data for the distances of these two places from Tigranocerta, viz.:

To Bitlis = 99 miles.

„ Zerzöwe by centre road (shorter route) = 47 miles.

„ Zerzöwe „ lower „ (longer „) = 86 „

We proceed then to test the three sites of Sert, Tel Abâd, and Tel Ermen accordingly.

A Table of distances, which are approximate only, may best sum up the position:

Roman Miles

To	From			
	Tigranocerta	Sert	Tel Abâd	Tel Ermen
Patansana-Bitlis	99	40	95	130
Sardebar-Zerzöwe (centre road)	47		60	50 via Rubbut
Sardebar-Zerzöwe (lower road)	86	90 or via Bismil 73		

Note: (1) From Sert to Zerzöwe the route via Bismil is the shortest possible.

(2) For neither Tel Abâd nor Tel Ermen can any route of 86 miles to Zerzöwe which reaches the Tigris en route at 73 miles be by any possibility devised.

The general result therefore of the investigation is that of the above three distances in Peutinger for Tigranocerta

I. Sert satisfies fairly well the third only,

II. Tel Abâd the first only,

III. Tel Ermen the second only,

a pleasingly logical result, which however leads to the conclusion that the Peutinger Table distances and roads are practically of no assistance to us in choosing a site for Tigranocerta.

Rough sketch map to illustrate this paper:

BERNARD W. HENDERSON,
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THE LEX DE IMPERIO VESPASIANI.

It is with diffidence, naturally, that one proposes theories on an inscription that has had many students since the days of its first and most enthusiastic interpreter, the archaeologizing and revolutionary Cola di Rienzi. I have ventured to believe, however, that a brief discussion of some of its phases[1] in the *Journal* would not be without justification, and should like to treat particularly the second clause, with its important details and its decisive bearing on the general question of the nature of the legislation, and the closely related third clause, with its provoking simplicity of phraseology and difficulty of exact interpretation.

The first three clauses are as follows:—

I. ... foedusve cum quibus volet facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Julio Caesari Aug(usto), Tiberioque Claudio Caesari Aug(usto) Germanico;

II. utique ei senatum habere, relationem facere, remittere, senatus consulta per relationem discessionemque facere liceat, ita uti licuit divo Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Julio Caesari Aug(usto), Ti(berio) Claudio Caesari Augusto Germanico;

III. utique, cum ex voluntate auctoritateve iussu mandatuve eius praesenteve eo senatus habebitur, omnium rerum ius perinde habeatur, servetur, ac si e lege senatus edictus esset habereturque.

In passing by the first clause I may merely recall that in its remains it confers on Vespasian the power of making

[1] A treatment of the entire Lex by the present writer is in course of appearance at the University of Chicago.

treaties with whomsoever he shall wish, that in its entirety it almost certainly conferred the supreme power in what we roughly call affairs of war and peace, and that this power would be constitutionally connected with the "*consulare imperium*," as Mr Pelham[1] prefers to term it, or "*proconsulare imperium*," as it is more commonly regarded[2].

The second clause conveys four distinct rights touching Vespasian's dealings with the senate.

The first right, *senatum habere*, is usually regarded as a special one, entirely apart from the right of holding a meeting of the senate implied in the *tribunicia potestas*. It is then identified with the right conferred on Augustus in 22 B.C., and reported by Dio Cassius[3] in the words: "So that he received the power to convene the senate whenever he should wish." By this legislation Augustus, according to Pelham[4], was made "independent of the old established order of precedence, which gave the right in the first instance to the consuls and praetors, and only after them to the tribunes." Mommsen[5] understands Dio Cassius to mean that the "power of convening the senate under special circumstances was conferred on Augustus as a special right," and believes that this then passed on to his successors. He and Pelham are agreed in identifying the power mentioned by Dio Cassius with the *senatum habere* of the Lex. They are, furthermore, agreed that the *tribunicia potestas* implied the power of convening the senate, but in the old order of precedence. I would note that it is by no means certain that the tribune's right is not practically supreme even if you give due weight to the old order of precedence, for the tribune's convening cannot be hindered by

[1] See Journ. of Phil. XVII, p. 32 seq. for his scholarly arguments. The gulf between him and his opponents is really not as wide as it seems, and for convenience I have retained "*proconsulare imperium*" throughout.

[2] For easy reference I mention some of the best and most accessible treatments of the law: Pelham, Journal of Philology, XVII, p. 32 seq.; Willems, Droit Public Romain, p. 413 seq.; Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 876 seq., et al.; Karlowa, Römische Rechtsgeschichte, I, 494 seq.; Mispoulet, Les Institutions Politiques des Romains, I, 374 seq., with a good translation; and particularly Cantarelli, Bulletino comunale, 1890, p. 194 seq., and 235 seq.

[3] Dio Cassius, LIV, 3, 3.

[4] Journ. of Phil. XVII, 42.

[5] Mom. Str. II, 896–7.

intercession on the part of a consul or praetor. Furthermore, the expression before us is *senatum habere* without any qualifying words.

The second right is that of laying a measure before the house. By Mommsen[1] the *relationem facere* of this clause seems to have been first understood to mean the proposal of a measure in writing as opposed to the regular oral proposal; but he subsequently concludes that his previous position was questionable to this extent: "In this clause *senatum habere*"—which of course is used of presiding in, as well as of convening, the senate—"appears to be the more general expression, and *relationem facere* only to be placed for *referre* in order to offer something to which the following *relationem remittere* might be appended." His reluctance to identify *relationem facere* with the common *referre* is probably due to the assumption he has made with reference to a passage of Dio Cassius[2]. The passage runs: "*ἡ γερουσία ... ἐψηφίσατο, καὶ χρηματίζειν αὐτῷ περὶ ἑνός τινος ὅτου ἂν ἐθελήσῃ καθ' ἑκάστην βουλήν, κἂν μὴ ὑπατεύῃ.*" Mommsen assumes that *χρηματίζειν* meant "to propose in writing," and a difficulty is inevitable if, after that assumption, you identify the privilege mentioned by Dio with that conferred by the Lex, and do not then give a very special meaning to *relationem facere*. Pelham[3] is sure that *relationem facere* is quite synonymous with *referre*, and of this there can be little doubt. In connexion with this he considers the *ius tertiae, quartae, quintae relationis*[4] of the later emperors, and rejects Mommsen's theory of a written as opposed to an oral proposal. His view is that the passage in Dio recorded the restoration to Augustus of the right of priority of reference attached to the office of consul, with the proviso, however, that this priority was not to extend to all the *relationes* he might make, but only to one. He then identifies the privilege of Dio Cassius and the provision of the Lex. Like Mommsen, but with the same difference as here, he concludes that in

[1] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 899.
[2] Dio Cassius, LIII, 32, 5.
[3] Journ. of Phil. XVII, 39.
[4] Vit. Pertin. 6; Severi Alexandri 1, 3; Probi 12, 8.

the cases cited from the later emperors we have an extension of the privilege. Cantarelli[1] follows Mispoulet[2] in his view that "*relationem facere*" is equivalent to "*referre*," and includes both oral and written propositions. What I am personally inclined to think may better be taken up in connection with the following provision.

The third provision has been the victim of many interpretations. Karlowa[3] understands the words "*relationem remittere*" as meaning "to withdraw a matter submitted to the senate." Madvig[4] has practically the same view, and Cantarelli[5] accepts this explanation. Pick[6] and Mispoulet[2] hold other views, but they have been indisputably disposed of by Cantarelli[5]. Mommsen[7] takes the expression to refer to the handing over to the senate by the emperor of a matter that may fall within the competence of that body, but has come before him. His treatment has the merit of dealing exhaustively with the literary evidence[8]. It will be noticed that these passages refer only to criminal processes, although they are not numerous enough to justify a limitation to that field.

But of the growth of the right and its connexion with the other provisions of the clause, I believe a consistent account can be given only on one basis: viz., the whole second clause defines the rights of the emperor in his dealings with the senate as connected with the *tribunicia potestas*. This will cover the *senatum habere* of the first provision, the *relationem facere* of the second, and the arrangement as to taking a vote in the fourth. On this basis, *relationem remittere* is a by no means difficult expression of the form in which the old intercession of the tribune has come to be conceived with relation to the emperor and his dealing with measures before the senate. He may either drop the *relatio* or "send it back" for further con-

[1] Cantarelli, l. c., p. 196–7.

[2] Mispoulet, op. c., I, 265.

[3] Karlowa, Geschichte des röm. Rechts, I, 498.

[4] Madvig, Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des röm. Staates, I, 538.

[5] Cantarelli, l. c., 197–9.

[6] B. Pick, De Senatus Consultis Romanis, p. 8, n. 4.

[7] Str. II, 896–900.

[8] Pliny, Ep. IV 9, 1; IX 13, 22; Tac. Ann. III 10.

sideration. This understands *remittere* in a sense perfectly consistent with the passages quoted. Again, it gives an importance to the provision that justifies its appearance with the other important prerogatives in the clause. Furthermore, after the mention of the right to propose a motion, the right to veto a bill or return it for discussion would very naturally follow. Finally, the fact that the few uses we have of the expression in contemporary writers all refer to criminal cases would suggest a connection with the *tribunicia potestas* and its power of intercession.

The fourth provision covers the procuring of a decree of the senate on a division. The wording presents no difficulty. There is no reference to the two ways of taking a vote known to the Romans, that is, by a simple and literal division into parts of the chamber, or by actually asking for the individual votes; the *relatio* was a necessary preliminary to any decree[1].

This fourth right is also held to have been exercised by the emperors in virtue of a special empowering act, although it is not mentioned by Dio Cassius. It really brings us back to the first and second provisions of the clause, and involves the same difficulties; for, of course, the president of the meeting had full power to proceed to a division. The explanation of Pelham[2] is along the line of his general theory, and he states that probably at the same time—as the conferring of the *ius senatum habendi*—and with the same right of precedence, Augustus was given authority *senatus consulta facere*. Mommsen, unfortunately, gives no explicit statement of his views as to the reasons for such provisions, although he recognizes them as conferred by special legislation. He does state, indeed[3]: "It cannot be directly proven that when the princeps convened the senate on the strength of his special competency, his *relationes* took precedence, but considered theoretically or practically it is very probable." But in the same place he also states that the tribunician *relationes* probably had legal precedence over those

[1] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, III, 983–4. For a discussion of this and the advocacy of a different opinion see Cantarelli in the Bulletino comunale for 1890, pp. 196–201.

[2] Pelham, l. c., p. 42 seq.

[3] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 897, note 5.

of the patrician magistracies; by implication, the imperial *relatio*, based on the *tribunicia potestas*, would need no special legislation to insure its precedence. On the basis of the explanation I have already suggested this provision presents no difficulty.

The third clause ensures the validity of all proceedings at any extraordinary meeting of the senate convened at Vespasian's pleasure. This much is certain; but are we to say that the meetings covered by this clause are the same as those authorized by the preceding clause? This I regard as impossible. Even if the provisions of the former do not refer to rights naturally implied in the *tribunicia potestas*, we must assume that the framers of the present Lex had come to regard them as so naturally pertinent to the imperial power, and as so naturally applying to ordinary meetings, that they proceeded to make provisions for all extraordinary meetings of any nature. If one keeps before one's mind the very formal and comprehensive expressions of clause two, I do not see how he can conceive that there was any need to make special provision for the legality of the proceedings at such meetings as are there implied. Furthermore, even if you could reconcile the expressions "*voluntate, auctoritate, iussu, mandatu*," with the provisions understood in the ways I have discussed, it could only be the most misplaced ingenuity to proceed to the same task with "*praesente eo*." To me it seems much more probable, even certain, that clause three had not lost sight of the provisions—even if you assume they were special, as I cannot—of clause two, but was intended to provide for the validity of any method of holding the senate adopted at the convenience of the emperor.

The question as to the form of meeting implied in the words *praesente eo* is attended by considerable difficulty. The solution is to be found, I think, in a comparison with certain meetings that were authorized towards the close of the reign of Augustus. At the time when Augustus was regulating his general relations with the senate, there had been instituted[1] a

[1] Suet., Aug. 35; Cuq, Le Conseil des Empereurs; reviewed in Bursian's Jahresbericht XLIV, p. 284.

council with which he might discuss questions which were afterwards to be referred to a full senate. This earlier council[1] seems to have been made up of the two consuls—the holder of the other consulate when Augustus himself held one—one member from each of the other magistracies, and fifteen senators elected by lot for a period of six months. Subsequently, when the pressure of old age prevented his frequent attendance at meetings held in other places than the palace, he asked for a new council[2]. This is evidently a development of the earlier council[3], although it legally possesses far wider powers. This new council was made up of Tiberius, the acting and designate consuls, the grandson of Augustus, twenty senators chosen for a year, taking the place of the fifteen previously chosen for six months, and such other persons as Augustus might care to introduce. When this body, meeting with the emperor, was duly authorized to pass decrees that should be equally binding with those passed by a full senate, there practically comes into being a smaller senate, really depending for its validity on nothing else than the presence of the emperor. Some such smaller senate, even if it were not a fixture, must have been at times a great convenience to the ruler. Whether it were frequently utilized or not, its utility and desirability would be very clear, and it is to some such body that the words "*praesente eo*" must apply. The position and authority of the emperor and this body would naturally be defined in connexion with his relations to the regular senate, and this clause is very closely connected with the second.

In turning for a moment to the question of the general character of the Lex, I should like to point out that Mr Pelham's able argument makes it impossible to refuse to accept the view that it conveyed the *imperium consulare* or *proconsulare* as well as the *tribunicia potestas*. But even Mr Pelham agrees with Mommsen in insisting that clause two is a bundle of special prerogatives. As has been seen, however, I do not believe that the clause can be so explained. Whatever may have been the exact feeling with reference to Augustus, there

[1] Dio Cassius, LIII 21, 4.

[2] Dio Cassius, LVI 28, 2–3.

[3] Mommsen, Staatsrecht, II, 902–3.

can be little doubt that the framers of our Lex conceived the measure as first conferring the dignities above referred to, both the *imperium proconsulare* and the *tribunicia potestas*, and then generally defining them, and finally adding special prerogatives not so clearly connected with the conferred offices. Thus the first clause is closely connected with the *imperium proconsulare*, and the second can only be given a consistent explanation in connection with the *tribunicia potestas*. It is, after all, very natural that the powers conferred by the imperium and potestas should be generally defined, for the powers differ very widely from those of the mere consul or proconsul, and of the tribune. In connection with the former, the emperor has supreme power in matters of war and foreign polity; the latter gave him a unique status in relation to home affairs, and along these lines they are both described. These two clauses would be the essential part of every *Lex de Imperio* passed in favour of successive emperors. With this essential part they come dangerously near constituting a law conferring a general authority, and when the other clauses were added, the ordinary way of thinking about such legislation would be to regard it as a general empowering measure, even when, technically, it might still be a collection of separate prerogatives. Tacitus for instance, says in one place[1] that the senate decreed to Vespasian all the prerogatives it was customary to confer on the princeps, and then in another[2], speaking of the same event, he says: "But on that day of the senate when the house was considering the *imperium* of Vespasian." Again, touching the accession of Otho, he says[3]: The senate runs together and decrees to him the *tribunicia potestas*, the name of Augustus, and all the honours of the princeps." And yet he refers to Galba's[4] holding *comitia imperii*. In these cases the use of *imperium* is to be explained as carrying

[1] Hist. iv, 3. At Romae senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit.

[2] Hist. iv, 6. Ceterum eo senatus die quo de *imperio* Vespasiani censebant.

[3] Hist. i, 47. Accurrunt patres; decernitur Othoni *tribunicia potestas*, et nomen Augusti, et omnes principum honores.

[4] Hist. i, 14. Sed Galba...quod remedium unicum rebatur, *comitia imperii* transigit.

the general meaning I have referred to. This would be true, even if you resort to the rather heroic explanation that the expression *comitia imperii* is a "blosse Metapher[1]." The only other possible explanation, which Mommsen cannot admit, for it would be fatal to his theory that the "proconsularisches Gewalt" was excluded from the Lex, is that Tacitus is here thinking of the *proconsulare imperium* as being just as important a part of the power as the *tribunicia potestas*, although the latter is the name most often used in this connection. But from the manner in which he uses the word, the former interpretation is almost inevitable. Granting that under the earlier principes, men's thoughts had previously turned a little more to the constitutionally separate prerogatives, we must still feel it intrinsically probable that there would arise a conception of general imperial power in spite of the specious forms of the principate. One might easily be tempted to believe that this conception, more or less vague, but always becoming more definite, crystallized in the heated activity of the year 69, when any day seemed likely to require the legal and constitutional recognition of a new emperor. I am led, then, to believe that, when officially published in January of the year 70, it was recognized by all as conveying a general *imperium* that contained in it the old *imperium proconsulare* and *tribunicia potestas* as then modified and defined, and a number of special prerogatives enumerated in the later clauses.

[1] Staatsrecht, II, 841, note 4.

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NOTES ON CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA III[1].

Stromata I xix § 93 = 373 Potter *ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τἀγαθοῦ δεῖ ἐπιστήμης καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἑτέρων μὲν ὄντων τἀγαθοῦ ὁδῶν, ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τἀγαθόν.*

In a paper published in the *Journal of Philology* xxvii 140, I proposed to retain the traditional reading *ἑτέρων μὲν ὄντων τἀγαθοῦ ὁδῶν ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τἀγαθόν*, but to place the comma after *τἀγαθοῦ* instead of after *ὁδῶν*: and I translated the resulting text—'the good, and what may be regarded as ways to it, being different things'. Somewhat rashly I added the remark that "the trajection of *μέν*, which would properly follow *τἀγαθοῦ*, does not dismay me". But an observation made to me by my friendly correspondent Dr Stählin has led me to reconsider the passage; and, while I still punctuate before *ὁδῶν* instead of after it, I would now translate—'whereas, in fact, there are things which are other than the good, but as it were ways to it'.

VI vi § 53 = 767 Potter *Ἰσίδωρός τε ὁ Βασιλείδου υἱὸς ἅμα καὶ μαθητὴς.....καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ λέξιν γράφει· φασὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀττικοὶ μεμηνῦσθαί τινα Σωκράτει παρεπομένου δαίμονος αὐτῷ.*

Compare Aristotle 1511[b] 16, and V. Rose *Aristotelis fragmenta* 193.

It is obvious for *παρεπομένου* to write *παρ' ἑπομένου*.

VII iii § 17 = 838 Potter *οὐ γὰρ ὑπομένειν δεῖ τὰς κακίας καὶ τὰ κακά, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰ φοβερὰ ὑπομένειν.*

For *ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι*, read *ἀλλ' ἀπωθεῖσθαι.*

[1] F. J. A. Hort's conjectures referred to in this paper are taken from his notes on the Seventh Book of the Stromateis, which will shortly be brought out by Prof. Jos. B. Mayor.

VII iv § 22 = 841 Potter *Ἕλληνες δὲ ὥσπερ ἀνθρωπομόρφους, οὕτως καὶ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑποτίθενται· καὶ καθάπερ τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶν ὁμοίας ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι διαζωγραφοῦσιν, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφάνης, Αἰθίοπές τε μέλανας σιμούς τε, Θρᾷκές τε πυρροὺς καὶ γλαυκούς, οὕτως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁμοιοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναπλάττουσιν. αὐτίκα βάρβαροι οἱ μὲν θηριώδεις καὶ ἀγρίους τὰ ἤθη, ἡμερωτέρους δὲ Ἕλληνες πλὴν ἐμπαθεῖς.*

'As the Greeks conceive their gods with the outward forms of men', says Clement, 'so they conceive them with men's passions: and as each nation represents them with shapes like their own, the Ethiopians imagining them to be black-haired and snub-nosed, the Thracians red-haired and blue-eyed, so each nation attributes to them souls such as they have themselves'. Thus far all is clear, except that I doubt whether the words *ὥς φησιν ὁ Ξενοφάνης* are, as the editors suppose, to be connected with the words which follow, and not rather with those which precede. It is, I think, further certain that, as I pointed out some time ago (*Journal of Philology* xxiv 271), and as Hort also had perceived, the *οἱ* after *βάρβαροι* should be ejected. But what are we to make of *οὕτως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὁμοιοῦσιν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀναπλάττουσιν*? Since Karsten, editors and commentators have usually printed *ὁμοίας ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττουσιν*. Hort ingeniously suggests *ὁμοίας ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖς ἀναπλάττουσιν*, so as to bring this clause into exact correspondence with *ὁμοίας ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι διαζωγραφοῦσιν*. I am inclined to think that a smaller alteration will suffice. Adding a comma after *ὁμοιοῦσιν*, and removing the full stop after *ἀναπλάττουσιν*, I would write *τοὺς αὐτούς* in place of *τοῖς αὐτοῖς*. The sentence begun at *καὶ καθάπερ τὰς μορφάς* will then end with *ὁμοιοῦσιν*, and the next sentence *καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀναπλάττουσιν αὐτίκα βάρβαροι μὲν θηριώδεις κτλ* will mean 'and the same divinities are represented, for example, by barbarians as brutal and savage, and by Greeks, though passionate, as comparatively gentle'.

VII vi § 29 = 846 Potter *εἰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν διχῶς ἐκλαμβάνεται, ὅ τε θεὸς αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκεύασμα, πῶς οὐ*

κυρίως τὴν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἁγίαν γενομένην ἐκκλησίαν ἱερὸν ἂν εἴποιμεν θεοῦ τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ οὐ βαναύσῳ κατεσκευασμένον τέχνῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγύρτου χειρὶ δεδαιδαλμένον, βουλήσει δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς νεὼν πεποιημένην;

The insertion of a dash before *τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον* and of another after *δεδαιδαλμένον* would make this sentence more easily intelligible; for the gender of *πεποιημένην* plainly shows that the clause *βουλήσει δὲ κτλ* coordinates with *εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν ἁγίαν γενομένην*. Apart from the words thus marked off as parenthetical, the principal sentence presents no difficulty: 'if', says Clement, 'the word "holy" is used in two ways, first, of God himself, secondly, of that which is established in His honour, we shall surely be justified in giving the appellation to that church which has been consecrated to Him, and by His will made into a temple'. It would appear further that in the words parenthetically appended to *ἱερόν*, namely, *τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον καὶ οὐ βαναύσῳ κατεσκευασμένον τέχνῃ ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀγύρτου χειρὶ δεδαιδαλμένον*, Clement reproduces *Acts* xvii 24 *οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων θεραπεύεται*. But the word *ἀγύρτου* is wholly unmeaning. What then does it represent? I think that Clement wrote *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τυρίου χειρί*, having in his mind Solomon's Tyrian artificer, who was "filled with wisdom and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass". In a word, Clement says that the Church may fairly be regarded as a *ἱερόν*, the *ἱερόν* which is very precious, built by no mere mechanic, nor yet decorated by the skilled art of a Tyrian. For Solomon's worker in brass, whom Clement mentions in I xxi § 130 = 396 Potter, see 1 *Kings* v and vii, and 2 *Chronicles* ii 14 and iv 11. For *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* as a stronger *οὐδέ*, compare *Eudemian Ethics* VII vi 16 = 1240^{b} 33 *οἷον ἵππος αὐτὸς αὑτῷ οὐκ ἄρα φίλος, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰ παιδία.*

VII vii § 36 = 852 Potter *οὔτ' οὖν ταύτας τὰς ἡδονὰς τῆς θέας οὔτε τὰς διὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολαυσμάτων ποικιλίας οἷον θυμιαμάτων πολυτέλειαν τὴν ὄσφρησιν γοητεύουσαν ἢ βρωμάτων συγκαττύσεις καὶ τὰς ἐξ οἴνων διαφόρων δελεαζούσας τὴν γεῦσιν κτλ.*

In place of *συγκαττύσεις*, read *συγκαταρτύσεις*: for, whereas *καταρτύω* is strictly appropriate to the preparation or dressing of food, *καττύω* is properly used of the cobbling or stitching of shoes.

VII vii § 46 = 858 Potter *Εὐλόγως οὖν οὐδὲν ἐπιζητεῖ τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον εἰς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν χρῆσιν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν πεπεισμένος ὡς ὁ τὰ πάντα εἰδὼς θεὸς ὅ τι ἂν συμφέρῃ καὶ οὐκ αἰτουμένοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς χορηγεῖ.*

So Dindorf after Potter. The MS has however, not *οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν*, but *οὔθ' ὅτ' οὖν*, whence Hort acutely conjectures *εὐθετούντων*. It occurs to me that the reading of the MS points not so much to *εὐθετούντων* as to *εὐθετεῖν*, and that this also gives a perfect sense: 'hence with good reason he is not careful to make any provision for necessary uses', &c. For the proof that *εὐθετεῖν* is used, not only intransitively, but also transitively, see Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.

VII vii § 48 = 860 Potter *ἢ γὰρ οὐχὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν χάριν καὶ εἰς τὴν τούτων χρῆσιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν μᾶλλον δὲ σωτηρίαν τὰ πάντα γέγονεν; οὔκουν ἀφέλοιτο ἂν* [sc. *ὁ θεός*] *τούτους τὰ δι' ἀρετήν, δι' οὓς τὰ γεγονότα. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀγαθὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν τὴν ἁγίαν τιμώμενός τε καὶ τοῖς εὖ βιοῦν ἐπαυῃρημένοις ἰσχὺν πρὸς τὴν λοιπὴν σωτηρίαν ἐμπνεῖ, τοῖς μὲν προτρέπων μόνον, τοῖς δὲ ἀξίοις γενομένοις ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καὶ συλλαμβανόμενος.*

In place of *τιμώμενός τε*, read *τιμῶν ἥν, ὅς γε*: and in place of *τοῖς μέν* before *προτρέπων*, read *τοὺς μέν*.

VII x § 55 = 864 Potter *γνῶσιν δὲ σοφίας τῆς κατὰ διδασκαλίαν ἐγγινομένης διαφέρειν φαμέν. ἧ μὲν γάρ τί ἐστι γνῶσις, τοῦτο πάντως καὶ σοφία τυγχάνει, ἧ δέ τι σοφία οὐ πάντως γνῶσις. ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ προφορικοῦ λόγου τὸ τῆς σοφίας ὄνομα φαντάζεται. πλὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ διστάσαι περὶ θεοῦ πιστεῦσαι δὲ θεμέλιος γνώσεως, κτλ.*

I am not satisfied that Sylburg's substitution of *ταύτῃ* for *τοῦτο*, before *πάντως*, is either necessary or desirable. On the other hand, the sentence which follows, *ἐν μόνῃ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ προφορικοῦ λόγου τὸ τῆς σοφίας ὄνομα φαντάζεται*, stands in need both of emendation and of comment. The requisite

emendation is however no more than the substitution of *μονῇ* for *μόνῃ*. With this trifling change the sentence conveys a definition of *σοφία*, together with an etymological justification of it. The definition is derived from Plato's *Meno*, 97 D—98 A, where *δόξα ἀληθής*, which is a runaway (*οὐ παραμένει*) is distinguished from *ἐπιστήμη*, which being bound fast by an *αἰτίας λογισμός*, is stationary. And the etymological justification is based upon Plato's *Cratylus*, 412 B, where *σοφία* is derived from *συθῆναι*, i. q. *φορά*, and *ἐπαφή*: *ἀλλὰ μὴν ἥ γε σοφία φορᾶς ἐφάπτεσθαι σημαίνει. σκοτωδέστερον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ξενικώτερον· ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀναμιμνῄσκεσθαι ὅτι πολλαχοῦ λέγουσι περὶ ὅτου ἂν τύχωσι τῶν ἀρχομένων ταχὺ προιέναι, ἐσύθη φασί. Λακωνικῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὐδοκίμων καὶ ὄνομα ἦν Σοῦς· τὴν γὰρ ταχεῖαν ὁρμὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦτο καλοῦσι. ταύτης οὖν τῆς φορᾶς ἐπαφὴν σημαίνει ἡ σοφία, ὡς φερομένων τῶν ὄντων.* It will be observed that Clement's term *προφορικὸς λόγος* is a help to him in his etymological speculation.

VII xii § 76 = 877 Potter *τούτῳ καὶ οἱ πειρασμοὶ προσάγονται οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀποκάθαρσιν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τῶν πέλας.*

For *τὴν ἀποκάθαρσιν*, read *τὴν αὑτοῦ κάθαρσιν.*

VII xii § 77 = 878 Potter *αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν μειονεκτεῖ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν ποτὲ ἐν θλίψει γενόμενον ἀδελφὸν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ τελείωσιν.*

For *ἑαυτόν*, read *ἑαυτοῦ.*

VII xiv § 86 = 885 Potter *"καὶ ταῦτά τινες ἦτε", τοιοῦτοι δῆλον ὁποῖοι ἔτι τυγχάνουσιν οἷς αὐτοὶ οὐ συγγινώσκετε.*

"*δῆλον* pro *δηλονότι*", says Sylburg in his Index, quoting this passage, and this passage only. It is obvious to write *δηλονότι οἷοι* in place of *δῆλον ὁποῖοι*: for *π = τι*, see Bast, p. 730.

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2 *April* 1901.

XENOPHON *CYNEGETICUS* XII 6.

εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν εὐτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν νέων ἐποιήσαντο· σπανίζοντες γὰρ καρπῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ κωλύειν [διὰ] τὸ μηδὲν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων ἀγρεύειν.

H. G. Dakyns in his translation of Xenophon's works comments as follows: "The commentators generally omit *διά*. ...Lenz reads *μὴ κωλύειν διὰ μηδὲν* (see his note ad v. 34), and translates (p. 61), 'Dass man die Jäger nicht hindern solle, in allem was die Erde hervorbrächte zu jagen', 'not to hinder the huntsmen from ranging over any of the crops which spring from the earth'; (but if so, we should expect *διὰ μηδενός*). Sturz, s. v. *ἀγρεύειν*, notes '*festive*,' 'because the hunter does not hunt vegetable products'. So Gail, 'parce que le chasseur rien veut pas aux productions de la terre' ".

Retaining *διά*, and in *μηδέν* substituting *ο* for *ε*, in place of *διὰ τὸ μηδέν* I would write *διατομηδόν*, and translate—"they nevertheless made it their practice to allow hunters to cross the standing crops in pursuit of game."

HENRY JACKSON.

1900.

THE DATE AND ORIGIN OF PSEUDO-ANATOLIUS *DE RATIONE PASCHALI.*

Rufinus, so well known for his quarrel with St Jerome, has, through his translations of Greek fathers, probably largely influenced Christian thought in the West. Of his work as a translator, Professor W. Ramsay in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography* expressed an unfavourable judgment, characterizing him as extremely inaccurate, though not with justice open to the accusation of wilful distortion or suppression.

Among the works that he translated was Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, in which fortunately reposes besides other treasures a considerable quotation from a treatise of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, on the subject of the proper date for the observance of Easter.

Now the Jesuit Aegidius Bucher discovered and edited[1] from an ancient manuscript a treatise on the same subject, in which the quotation Eusebius incorporated from Anatolius occurs identically word for word with Rufinus' translation of it in the *History*. It was supposed in consequence for some time

[1] In his *De Doctrina Temporum*, Antwerp, 1634. This has been reprinted by Migne *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. x. pp. 222—231 and 886—902, so far as Hippolytus and Anatolius are concerned. In pp. 210—222 the Latin text of Rufinus with the Greek of the fragment preserved by Eusebius is given: and a convenient English translation is in *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, Vol. xiv pp. 410—427. T. and T. Clark, 1869. See also p. 138, note 2.

that Rufinus' interest had been so stirred by the commendations bestowed upon Anatolius by Eusebius, that he translated the whole treatise in a separate form. Hagen[1], however, followed by Bruno Krusch[2] (*Studien z. Christlich-Mittelalterlichen Chronologie*, pp. 311—327), has disputed this and argued that the work thus preserved to us is a spurious tract, of British or Scottish origin, written about 600 A.D. Their principal reasons for thinking this are (1) that the style is barbaric, (2) the matter inconsistent, (3) the views it asserts were held by the British about the date suggested.

An examination, however, of these arguments, and further reference to the treatise, seem to indicate that another hypothesis is at any rate tenable. (1) It is difficult to observe any difference as regards barbarism between the piece undoubtedly translated by Rufinus and the rest of the treatise. (2) It is hard to see why the writer of the rest of the treatise should have been at such pains to reproduce *verbatim* Rufinus' fragment from the *History*—for if he wished to palm the treatise off as Anatolius plain and simple he would surely have avoided reference to late writers. (3) There are two MSS. now known of the work; both refer to Isidorus as one of *maiores nostri*: Krusch rightly believes Isidorus, who wrote not later than 627 and died not later than 636, to be referred to, and therefore brackets the words as an interpolation. He fails to see that, once we have allowed that the text has been revised and re-edited, his whole case against the hypothesis of a Rufinus translation as the first form of the work in Latin breaks down. For this hypothesis equally with his own accounts for the inconsistencies found in the work as it now is; and, as I hope to show, other considerations establish the superiority of this hypothesis. It harmonizes, at least as well as his, with the fact that references to the 'Liber Anatholi' are found prior to 600. And what would be hard to refute is that Rufinus himself may have introduced the changes which

[1] *Dissert. de cyclis paschal.* p. 115ff. (referred to by Krusch).

[2] For this reference I am indebted to the Editor of the *Journal of Theological Studies*. Krusch gives far the best edition of the text with which I am acquainted.

support the rules of the old Roman computation, rather than some unknown British reviser. But without hazarding conjectures as to when the various deflexions from the genuine Anatolius took place—whether Rufinus retained March 22 as the outset of the cycle, but put the equinox on March 25, while it was left for his reviser to censure those 'qui tres addiderunt dies ante aequinoctium' and emend his text to March 25 (for 22)—I here propose to show that the body of the work exhibits the marks of an original composition about 300, and of a translation about 410. Subsequent revisions we have seen are indicated by isolated expressions.

But I would first point out that there is every appearance that Anatolius himself supplied (as we should expect from so great an astronomer) a 19 years' cycle of Paschal *full moons*, which serve to find Easter—the Sunday next following. Our translator or editor has substituted a 19 years' cycle of Easter Sundays.

We may be confident that in the Easter Table preserved to us all that will be genuine in plan will be the lunar date given for the equinox in each year of the cycle, and there will also have been in the original the date of the Paschal full moon. The question that we have to solve is whether in the doctored Table any vestiges of comprehensibility remain. Let us first reproduce the Table:—

Year of Cycle	Day of Week on which Equinox falls	Day of Moon on which Equinox falls	Day of Month on which Easter falls	Day of Moon on which Easter falls
I	Sabbath	XXVI	April 16[1]	XVIII
II	Lord's Day	VII	April 1	XIV
III	Second Day	XVIII	April 21	XVI[2]
IV	Third Day	XXIX	April 13	XIX[2]
V	Fourth Day	X	March 29	XIV
VI	Fifth Day	XXI	April 18	XVI[2]
VII	Sabbath[3]	II	April 9[4]	XVII
VIII	Lord's Day	XIII	April 1	XX
IX	Second Day	XXIV	April 14[5]	XV[2]
X	Third Day	V	April 6	XVII[6]
XI	Fourth Day	XVI	March 29	XX
XII	Fifth Day	XXVII	April 11	XV[2]
XIII	Sixth Day	VIII	April 3	XVII
XIV	Sabbath	XX[7]	April 23	XX[2]
XV	Lord's Day	I	April 8	XV
XVI	Second Day	XII	March 31	XVIII
XVII	Fourth Day[8]	XXIII	April 19[9]	XIX[2]
XVIII	Fifth Day	IV	April 4	XIV
XIX	Sixth Day	XV	March 27[10]	XVII

It will be observed that in this table March 25 is regarded as always without variation the date of the Equinox: yet in

[1] So the Codex C. The other gives April 17, which makes the confusion worse.

[2] In these years the writer seems to reckon 29 days in the lunar month preceding that in which Easter falls. Whether this comes unchanged from Anatolius we cannot tell.

[3] Here first our table-monger gives a leap year in the equinox dates.

[4] Codex S has vi Kal. April. We must read VId. April. The copyist misread the I as part of the numeral, and for the unintelligible *d* remaining, wrote *Kal.* Codex C is right.

[5] Codex C has April 25.

[6] S has xv, C has xvi. We must read xvii to harmonize. So Krusch.

[7] Here the moon's age ascends by 12 days from the previous year.

[8] Another leap-year.

[9] S. has xiv Kal. April. We must read xiii (so C), otherwise the previous lunar month will have but 28 days, and the day of the week is at variance with that assigned to the Equinox, and to the preceding and succeeding Easters.

[10] It is to be noted that this date for Easter could not possibly be followed by that assigned to the Table for Year I; the day of the week would be wrong.

the 1st year the new moon is placed on March 30th, five days later—a direct contradiction of the genuine Anatolius, who places the new moon of his first year on March 22nd (or, even with the attempted correction of Pseudo-Rufinus, March 25th) when he says it was the fourth day after the equinox. This in itself is enough to show how this Table has been treated. But it is necessary also to direct attention to the fact that two leap-years only are allowed in the 19 years—evidently through an ignorant desire to use this Table for giving Easter, not the full moon.

Let us now reconstruct the calendar for the years of Anatolius' and Rufinus' life, and compare our results with this Table.

Year	Equinox at Alexandria	March 25	New Moon at Alexandria	Paschal Full Moon (*a*)[1]	In the Laterculus Augustalis[2]	Roman of Krusch[2]	Cod. Remensis[2]	Easter
266	20 Mar. 18h. 31′ Tu. (XXVII[3])	II	24 Mar. 6h. 24′	Apr. 5/6 (*b e*) 6/7 (*c*, *d*) 7/8	Apr. 15 XX			[4] Apr. 8 XVI (*a*)[5]
267	21d. 0h. 20′ Wed. (Th.) IX	XIII	13 Mar. 12h. 0′	Mar. 25/26 (*b*, *e*) 26/27 (*c*, *d*) 27/28			Mar. 24 XVII	Mar. 31 XIX
268	20d. 6h. 9′ Fri. (XX)	(XXV)	31 Mar. 5h. 19′	Apr. 12/13 (*b*, *e*) 13/14 (*c*, *d*) 14/15	or Mar. 22 XVIII		Apr. 12 XVIII	Apr. 19 XX
269	20d. 11h. 58′ Sat. I	VI	20 Mar. 5h. 45′	Apr. 1/2 (*b*, *e*) 2/3 (*c*, *d*) 3/4	Apr. 11 XX			Apr. 4 XVI
270	20d. 17h. 46′ Sun. XIII	XVII	9 Mar. 11h. 9′	Mar. 21/22 (*b*, *e*) 22/23 (*c*, *d*) 23/24			Mar. 20 XVII	Mar. 27 XIX
271	20d. 23h. 35′ Mon. (XXIV)	(XXVIII)	28 Mar. 8h. 59′	Apr. 9/10 (*b*, *e*) 10/11 (*c*, *d*) 11/12			Apr. 9 XVIII	Apr. 16 XX
272	20d. 5h. 24′ Wed. IV.	IX	16 Mar. 23h. 54′	Mar. 29/30 (*b*,*c*) 30/31 (*d*) 31/1 Apr.	Apr. 7 XIX			Mar. 31 XV
273	20d. 11h. 13′ Th. XIV	XIX	6 Mar. 16h. 26′	Mar. 19/20 (*c*) 20/21 (*d*) 21/22			Apr. 20 XXII	Mar. 23 XVII
274	20d. 17h. 2′ Fri. (XXVI)	(XXIX)	25 Mar. 16h. 48′	Apr. 7/8 (*c*) 8/9 (*d*) 9/10			Apr. 5 XVIII	Apr. 12 XVIII
275	20d. 22h. 51′ Sat. VII	XI	15 Mar. 3h. 43′	Mar. 27/28 (*b*) 28/29 (*c*, *d*) 29/30	Apr. 4 XIX			Mar. 28 XIV
276	20d. 4h. 40′ Mon. (XVII)	(XXIII)	1 Apr. 23h. 15′	Apr. 14/15 (*b*, *c*) 15/16 (*d*) 16/17	Mar. 19 XIV or Ap. 23 XX			Apr. 16 XV
277	20d. 10h. 29′ Tu. (XXVIII)	IV	22 Mar. 0h. 42′	Apr. 3/4 (*b*, *c*) 4/5 (*d*) 5/6			Apr. 1 XVIII	Apr. 8 XVIII
278	20d. 16h. 18′ Wed. XI.	XV	11 Mar. 1h. 39′	Mar. 23/24 (*b*, *c*) 24/25 (*d*) 25/26	Mar. 31 XVIII			Mar. 24 XIV
279	20d. 22h. 7′ Th. (XXIII)	(XXV)	29 Mar. 21h. 3′	Apr. 11/12 (*b*, *c*, *d*) 12/13	Mar. 16 XIV or Apr. 20 XX			Apr. 13 XV
280	20d. 3h. 56′ Sat. III	VIII	18 Mar. 8h. 7′	Mar. 30/31 (*b*, *e*) 31/1 Apr. (*c*, *d*) Apr. 1/2			Mar. 28 XVIII	Apr. 4 XVIII
281	20d. 9h. 45′ L. XIII	XVIII	7 Mar. 23h. 50′	Mar. 20/21 (*b*, *c*) 21/22 (*d*) 22/23			Apr. 17 XIX	Mar. 27 XX
282	20d. 15h. 34′ Mon. (XXV)	(XXIX)	27 Mar. 0h. 45′	Apr. 8/9 (*b*, *c*) 9/10 (*d*) 10/11	Apr. 16 XVIII			Apr. 9 XIV
283	20d. 21h. 23′ Tu. V	IX	16 Mar. 15h. 37′	Mar. 29/30 (*c*) 30/31 (*d*) 31/1 Apr.			Mar. 25 XVIII	Apr. 1 XVI

(*a*) Reckoned by regarding the lunar day as from 12 a.m. to 12 a.m., and the first day of the moon as that lunar day in which the true new moon fell.

(*b*) Reckoned with the same lunar day, but the first day of the moon as that lunar day in which fell the first evening after the true new moon.

(*c*) Reckoned with the same lunar day, but the first day of the moon as that lunar day in which fell the first evening *φάσις*, if a minimum of 18 hours after the true new moon suffices to justify the expectation of a *φάσις*. (This minimum gives an average interval of 27 hours before the *φάσις*.)

(*d*) The same, with a minimum of 30 hours. (This gives an average of 42 hours' interval, which is excessive probably. If we take (*d*) in 291, 292, 300, 301 only, we get an average of 32.)

(*e*) Reckoned as in (*a*), but with ordinary Egyptian days beginning at 3 a.m.

[1] If the Paschal Full Moon ought to be made the 15th day, perhaps these dates ought to be one day later. On the other hand the new moon may have been antedated, as the modern Jewish rule that the preceding month shall only contain 29 days might suggest.

[2] It seemed worth while to point out how far these astronomically determined results harmonize with still existing records of Easter cycles. I have therefore appended the tables given by Krusch, printing only those dates which disagree with our results. It will be observed that the Roman dates are correct for 298—313, and for 399—418 (the years where the two lists overlap), except where it is possible that the calculation is incorrect—but the Roman dates agree more closely in 399—418 than in the previous century, a fact which seems to suggest a means of determining with greater confidence the date of their tabulation.

[3] The lunar dates given in brackets are obtained by calculating backwards, and are therefore somewhat uncertain; for, as we have seen p. 140 note 2, we cannot be sure where Anatolius had his hollow months of 29 days. As at the end of 19 years they are in the contrary position in the year to where they were at the beginning, and as the calculations of A.D. 295, 306 bear out the hypothesis, I have started from 399, inverted them in 266 and 304, and kept them unaltered in 285.

[4] We may take it as not by any means certain whether Anatolius himself made Easter permissible on the XIV—XX days of the moon, or on the XV—XXI. But beyond making doubtful the years marked, this will hardly affect our results.

[5] The lunar dates are given only for (*a*): the others can be easily obtained from them.

Year	Equinox at Alexandria	March 25	New Moon at Alexandria	Paschal Full Moon	In the Laterculus Augustalis	Roman of Krusch	Cod. Remensis	Easter
284	20d. 3h. 12′ (W.) Th. (XV)	(XX)	3 Apr. 13h. 50′	Apr. 16/17 (*c*) 17/18 (*d*) 18/19	Mar. 23 XVII		All are a week early, except when a month too late	Apr. 20 XVII
285	20d. 9h. 1′ Fri. (XXVI)	II	23 Mar. 19h. 7′	Apr. 5/6 (*b*, *c*) 6/7 (*d*) 7/8				Apr. 12 XX
286	20d. 14h. 50′ Sat. IX	XIII	12 Mar. 19h. 24′	Mar. 25/26 (*b*, *c*) 26/27 (*d*) 27/28				Mar. 28 XVI
287	20d. 20h. 39′ L. XX	(XXIV)	31 Mar. 12h. 48′	Apr. 13/14 (*c*) 14/15 (*d*) 15/16	or Mar. 20 XVII			Apr. 17 XVII
288	20d. 2h. 28′ (Mon.) Tu. I	VI	19 Mar. 18h. 46′	Apr. 1/2 (*c*) 2/3 (*d*) 3/4				Apr. 8 XX
289	20d. 8h. 17′ Wed. XII	XVII	9 Mar. 7h. 30′	Mar. 21/22 (*b*, *e*) 22/23 (*c*, *d*) 23/24	Mar. 31 XX			Mar. 24 XVI (perhaps Mar. 31)
290	20d. 14h. 6′ Th. (XXIII)	(XXVII)	28 Mar. 7h. 51′	Apr. 9/10 (*b*, *e*) 10/11 (*c*, *d*) 11/12				Apr. 13 XVII
291	20d. 19h. 55′ Fri. IV	VIII	18 Mar. 0h. 30′	Mar. 30/31 (*b*, *c*) 31/1 Apr. (*d*) Apr. 1/2				Apr. 5 XIX
292	20d. 1h. 44′ (S.) L. (XV)	(XX)	5 Apr. 0h. 31′	Apr. 17/18 (*b*, *c*) 18/19 (*d*) 19/20	Mar. 27 XIX			Apr. 24 XX
293	20d. 7h. 33′ Mon. (XXVI)	I	25 Mar. 11h. 9′	Apr. 6/7 (*b*, *e*) 7/8 (*c*, *d*) 8/9	Apr. 16 XX			Apr. 9 XVI (perhaps Apr. 16)
294	20d. 13h. 22′ Tu. VII	XI	14 Mar. 14h. 24′	Mar. 27/28 (*c*) 28/29 (*d*) 29/30				Apr. 1 XVIII
295	20d. 19h. 11′ Wed. XVIII	(XXII)	[1]2 Apr. 7h. 21′	Apr. 14/15 (*b*, *e*) 15/16 (*c*, *d*) 16/17	or Mar. 24 XIX			Apr. 21 XX
296	20d. 1h. 0′ (Th.) Fri. XXIX	V	21 Mar. 8h. 56′	Apr. 2/3 (*b*, *e*) 3/4 (*c*, *d*) 4/5	Apr. 12 XIX			Apr. 5 XVI (perhaps Apr. 12)
297	20d. 6h. 49′ Sat. X	XV	10 Mar. 16h. 56′	Mar. 23/24 (*c*) 24/25 (*d*) 25/26				Mar. 28 XVIII
298	20d. 12h. 38′ L. XXII (XXI ?)	(XXVI)	29 Mar. 15h. 54′	Apr. 11/12 (*c*) 12/13 (*d*) 13/14	or Mar. 20 XIX			A. 17 XIX

[1] Preceding new moon 3 March 14h. 27′.

299	20d. 18h. 27′ Mon. III	VII	19 Mar. 7h. 56′	Mar. 31/1 Apr. (*b*, *e*) 1/2 (*c*, *d*) 2/3	Apr. 9 XX	Apr. 9 XXI	Apr. 2 XV (or perhaps Apr. 9)
300	20d. 0h. 16′ (Tu.) Wed. XIII	XVIII	8 Mar. 0h. 0′	Mar. 20/21 (*b*, *c*) 21/22 (*d*) 22/33			Mar. 24 XVII
301	20d. 6h. 5′ Th. XXIII	(XXVIII)	26 Mar. 23h. 21′	Apr. 8/9 (*b*, *c*) 9/10 (*d*) 10/11			Apr. 13 XVIII
302	20d. 11h. 54′ Fri. V	X	16 Mar. 7h. 46′	Mar. 28/29 (*b*, *e*) 29/30 (*c*, *d*) 30/31	Apr. 5 XIX	Apr. 5 XX	Mar. 29 XIV (or Apr. 5)
303	20d. 17h. 43′ Sat. (XVII)	(XXI)	4 Apr. 2h. 8′	Apr. 16/17 (*b*) 17/18 (*c*, *d*) 18/19	Mar. 21 XV	both	Apr. 18 XV
304	19d. 23h. 32′ L. (XXVIII)	III	23 Mar. 2h. 26′	Apr. 4/5 (*b*) 5/6 (*c*, *d*) 6/7			Apr. 9 XVIII
305	20d. 5h. 21′ Tu. IX	XIV	12 Mar. 5h. 29′	Mar. 24/25 (*b*, *e*) 25/26 (*c*, *d*) 26/27	Apr. 1 XVIII	April 1 XIX	Mar. 25 XIV
306	20d. 11h. 10′ W. XIX	(XXIV)	[1]31 Mar. 2h. 18′	Apr. 12/13 (*b*) 13/14 (*c*, *d*,) 14/15	Mar. 17 XIV or Apr. 21 XX	Mar. 24 XXII or Apr. 21 XXII	A. 14 XV
307	20d. 16h. 59′ Th. I	V	20 Mar. 15h. 30′	Apr. 2/3 (*c*) 3/4 (*d*) 4/5			A. 6 XVII
308	19d. 22h. 48′ F. XII	XVII	9 Mar. 7h. 56′	Mar. 21/22 (*b*, *e*) 22/23 (*c*, *d*) 23/24			Mar. 28 XX
309	20d. 4h. 37′ L. (XXIII)	(XXVIII)	28 Mar. 8h. 25′	Apr. 9/10 (*b*, *e*) 10/11 (*c*, *d*) 11/12	Apr. 17 XVIII	Apr. 17 XIX	Apr. 10 XIV
310	20d. 10h. 26′ Mon. III	VIII	17 Mar. 21h. 37′	Mar. 30/31 (*b*, *c*) 31/1 Apr. (*d*) Apr. 1/2			Apr. 2 XVI
311	20d. 16h. 15′ Tu. XV	XIX	7 Mar. 3h. 42′	Mar. 19/20 (*b*) 20/21 (*c*, *d*) 21/22			Mar. 25 XIX
312	19d. 22h. 4′ Wed. XXV	I	24 Mar. 21h. 27′	Apr. 6/7 (*b*, *c*) 7/8 (*d*) 8/9			Apr. 13 XX
313	20d. 3h. 53′ (Th.) Fri. VII	XII	13 Mar. 21h. 42′	Mar. 26/27 (*b*, *c*) 27/28 (*d*) 28/29		Apr. 5 XXII	Mar. 29 XVI
314							
399	19d. 23d. 13′ Sat. (XXVI)	II	24 Mar. 2h. 21′	Apr. 5/6 (*b*) 6/7 (*c*, *d*) 7/8			Apr. 10 XVIII
400	19d. 5h. 2′ Mon. VII	XIII	[2]13 Mar. 8h. 9′	Mar. 25/26 (*b*, *e*) 26/27 (*c*, *d*) 27/28			Apr. 1 XX
401	19d. 10h. 51′ Tu. (XX)	(XXV)	[3]30 Mar. 22h. 48′	[4]Apr. 12/13 (*b*, *c*) 13/14 (*d*) 14/15	Apr. 21 XXII		[5]Apr. 14 XV

[1] Preceding new moon 1 March 15h. 27′.
[2] The following new moon is 9 April 14h. 32′.
[3] The preceding new moon is 1 March 6h. 6′.
[4] The true full moon is 14 April 13h. 53′.
[5] See p. 143, note 4.

Year	Equinox at Alexandria	March 25	New Moon at Alexandria	Paschal Full Moon	In the Laterculus Augustalis	Roman of Krusch	Cod. Remensis	Easter
402	19d. 16h. 40′ Wed. (I)	VI	19 Mar. 23h. 50′	Apr. 1/2 (*b*, *c*) 2/3 (*d*) 3/4				Apr. 6 XVIII
403	19d. 22h. 28′ Th. XII	XVII	9 Mar. 6h. 51′	Mar. 21/22 (*b*, *e*) 22/23 (*c*, *d*) 23/24	Mar. 29 XXI			[6]Mar. 22 XIV
404	19d. 4h. 17′ S. (XXII)	(XXVIII)	27 Mar. 5h. 46′	Apr. 8/9 (*b*, *e*) 9/10 (*c*, *d*) 10/11	Apr. 17 XXI			[6]Apr. 10 XV
405	19d. 10h. 6′ L. III	IX	16 Mar. 21h. 36′	Mar. 29/30 (*b*, *c*) 30/31 (*d*) 31/1 Apr.				Apr. 2 XVII
406	19d. 15h. 55′ Mon. XIV	XIX	[1]6 Mar. 14h. 2′	Mar. 19/20 (*c*) 20/21 (*d*) 21/22				Mar. 25 XIX
407	19d. 21h. 43′ Tu. (XXV)	(XXX)	25 Mar. 14h. 7′	[2]Apr. 7/8 (*c*) 8/9 (*d*) 9/10				Apr. 14 XX
408	19d. 3h. 32′ Th. VI	XII	13 Mar. 23h. 17′	Mar. 26/27 (*b*, *c*) 27/28 (*d*) 28/29				Mar. 29 XVI
409	19d. 9h. 21′ Fri. (XVI)	(XXII)	1 Apr. 14h. 40′	[3]Apr. 14/15 (*c*) 15/16 (*d*) 16/17				Apr. 18 XVII
410	19d. 15h. 10 S. (XXVIII)	IV	21 Mar. 18h. 3′	[4]Apr. 3/4 (*c*) 4/5 (*d*) 5/6				Apr. 10 XX
411	19d. 20h. 58′ L. X	XV	10 Mar. 20h. 16′	Mar. 23/4 (*b*, *c*) 24/25 (*d*) 25/6				Mar. 26 XVI
412	19d. 2h. 47′ Mon. (Tu.) (XXI)	(XXVII)	28 Mar. 16h. 27′	Apr. 10/11 (*c*) 11/12 (*d*) 12/13				Apr. 14 XVII
413	19d. 8h. 36′ Wed. II	VIII	18 Mar. 5h. 0′	Mar. 30/31 (*b*, *e*) 31/1 Apr. (*c*, *d*) Apr. 1/2				Apr. 6 XX
414	19d. 14h. 25′ Th. XIII	XVIII	7 Mar. 21h. 20′	Mar. 20/21 (*b*, *c*) 21/22 (*d*) 22/23				[6]Mar. 22 XV
415	19d. 20h. 13′ F. (XXIII)	(XXVIII)	26 Mar. 22h. 39′	Apr. 8/9 (*b*, *c*) 9/10 (*d*) 10/11				Apr. 11 XVI
416	19d. 2h. 2′ S. (L.) IV	X	15 Mar. 12h. 30′	Mar. 28/29 (*b*) 29/30 (*c*, *d*) 30/31				Apr. 2 XVIII
417	19d. 7h. 51′ Mon. (XVI)	(XXII)	3 Apr. 9h. 43′	Apr. 15/16 (*b*, *e*) 16/17 (*c*, *d*) 17/18	Mar. 25 XXII			Apr. 22 XX
418	19d. 13h. 40′ Tu. (XXVI)	II	23 Mar. 13h. 19′	[5]Apr. 5/6 (*c*) 6/7 (*d*) 7/8				Apr. 7 XV

[1] The following new moon is 4 April 22h. 53′.
[2] The true full moon is 8 April 14h. 52′.
[3] The true full moon is 15 April 21h. 51′.
[4] The true full moon is 5 April 14h. 9′.
[5] The true full moon is 6 April 21h. 39′.
[6] See p. 143, note 4.

It is noticeable that these results for the years 266—270 correspond so accurately with our table years XV—XIX: but a little reflexion will show that we cannot regard this as indicating that our editor or translator has here reproduced Anatolius exactly, and that the Anatolian cycle began with the year 252 or 271. Besides the difficulties already pointed out, which remain unaffected by this suggestion, there arises the further difficulty that we cannot induce the new year thus obtained as the beginning of the cycle to harmonize with Anatolius' genuine words in Eusebius.

It seemed fair to indicate this coincidence, that no possibility should be ignored, but if there were no further evidence we might perhaps guess that the true solution was as follows. Rufinus wrote his translation about A.D. 401[1] and attempted to convert Anatolius' table into one such as he himself preferred. Anatolius' cycle began[2] in 304, and would therefore recur in 399. Rufinus has taken Anatolius' table, supposed the equinox to be March 25th instead of where Anatolius rightly placed it, continued the lunar equivalent of the equinox without seeing that this would be different now that the equinox was put on a different day, and then calculated from this an erroneous Paschal full moon. And he has then taken the Sunday next following for Easter and put down an erroneous estimate (still derived from his erroneous lunar equivalent of the equinox) of the lunar dating of the Easter thus determined.

But there is, I venture to think, further evidence. In the one MS[3] of the work occur the words 'Anatolius.....celebratur[4] CCXLVIIII a passione domini, sub primo anno Probi scripsit.....Octavo recursu nunc agitur circulus eius.' Now it is quite possible that this merely gives the date when the MS[5]

[1] After autumn 397 says Prof. Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 666 col. 2.

[2] If the results and arguments of *The Guardian*, Sept. 8, 1899, be accepted.

[3] Krusch, p. 211.

[4] But this seems to be a quotation certainly from Eusebius' *Chronicon*.

[5] So Krusch; but was the Peter who wrote it the same as the writer of C? If so, its date must be before 819, which will not do. We might think it even possible that the cycle (of 95 years) was dated from the Crucifixion, so that the scribe wrote not later than 28 + 760 = 788 A.D.

was written, the cycle in that case containing probably 95 years; but it may be a repetition of a remark of Rufinus, indicating that when he translated $19 \times 7 = 133$ years and more had elapsed since the cycle (as he believed) began. If he believed it to have begun in 276—9, he must have been translating not earlier than 409 A.D. And if 266 rather than 304 should be preferred—so that Anatolius wrote halfway through the first revolution of his cycle—Rufinus' translation would be dated not earlier than 399.

If we erect a table such as we may suppose Anatolius really gave, we may see how, it is possible, Rufinus arrived at his results:—

	Lunar Day on which Equinox falls	Paschal full moon	
		of Anatolius	of Rufinus through error
I	XXVI	266 April 7/8 285 April 6/7 304 April 6/7 (5/6)	April 12 Tuesday
II	VII	267 March 27/28 286 March 27/28 305 March 26/27	April 1 Sunday
III	XVIII	268 April 13/14 287 April 14/15 306 April 13/14	April 19 Friday
IV	XXIX	269 April 3/4 (2/3) 288 April 2/3 307 April 3/4	April 8 Tuesday
V	X	270 March 24/25 289 March 23/24 308 March 23/24	March 29 Sunday
VI	XXI	271 April 11/12 290 April 11/12 309 April 10/11	April 16 Saturday
VII	II	272 March 31/1 April 291 April 1/2 310 March 31/1 April	April 6 Thursday

	Lunar Day on which Equinox falls	Paschal full moon	
		of Anatolius	of Rufinus through error
VIII	XIII	273 March 20/21 (21/22) 292 March 20/21 311 March 21/22	March 26 Monday
IX	XXIV	274 April 8/9 293 April 7/8 312 April 7/8	April 13 Saturday
X	V	275 March 29/30 294 March 28/29 313	April 3 Friday
XI	XVI	276 April 16/17 295 April 17/18 314	March 23 Tuesday
XII	XXVII	277 Aprll 4/5 296 April 4/5 315	April 10 Sunday
XIII	VIII	278 March 26/27 297 March 25/26 316	March 31 Friday
XIV	XX	279 April 12/13 298 April 11/12 317	April 17 Wednesday
XV	I	280 April 1/2 299 April 2/3 318	April 7 Monday
XVI	XII	281 March 21/22 300 March 21/22 319	March 27 Saturday
XVII	XXIII	282 April 9/10 301 April 8/9 320	April 14 Friday
XVIII	IV	283 March 30/31 302 March 29/30 321	April 4 Wednesday
XIX	XV	284 April 17/18 303 April 18/19 322	March 24 Monday

It will be observed on a comparison of this table with that on pages 140 and 145–6 that Rufinus' Easter falls on the right day of the week for the first, second, third, fourth and fifth years of the cycle, if these are, as I have suggested, the equivalents of 399—403 A.D. After that his ignorant omission of leap year makes the calendar go astray.

But we see also from this calendar how approximately accurate was Anatolius' cycle, and how, once misunderstood, it would yield the results now preserved to us to masquerade as his in our version. Let us concede that the subject is technical, and error easy: we shall still have a grave count against translator, reviser, or copyist for tampering with the author. Only we may, it seems, dare to believe that under the cloud of ill-advised alterations we can trace the lineaments of a sound scientist, Anatolius, and some faint indications of the process by which they have been obscured—a hint of the date of the original translation and a sign of the date of the last revision.

In conclusion I may be permitted to point out how calculation throws light upon a matter referred to by Krusch in connexion with this subject. Columban left his native land for France in 590 and was constantly in difficulties because the new cycle of Victorius had there come into use. In 603 probably, a synod met at Châlon to discuss the difference between him and the French. A table of new moons clears up the question immensely:—

New Moon	Easter
590 March 11d. 15h. 18′	[1]March 26 XV (or April 2)
591 March 30d. 16h. 22′	April 15
592 March 19d. 9h. 4′	April 6
593 March 8d. 22h. 0′	(March 29 or April 26) March 22 XIV
594 March 27d. 18h. 53′	April 11 XV (or 18)
595 March 16d. 21h. 30′	April 3
596 April 3d. 13h. 55′	April 22
597 March 23d. 15h. 51′	April 7 XV (or 14)
598 March 13d. 0h. 24′	March 30
599 March 31d. 23h. 48′	April 19
600 March 20d. 16h. 12′	April 3 XIV (or 10)
601 March 10d. 8h. 12′	March 26
602 March 29d. 7h. 43′	April 17
603 March 18d. 15h. 24′	April 7 XX

From this table it will be seen how inevitable it was that Columban should fall foul of his hosts, when he and they were dependent upon a mere approximate cycle instead of calculation. And it is at least noteworthy that for the years 592—5 the results agree with the Pseudo-Anatolius table—so that instead of originating with Rufinus it may have been drawn up then.

It could not however in that case preserve to us any trace of Anatolius beyond what we have already determined; for it would give 583 as the first year of the cycle, and this would take us back to 278 as the first year, which contradicts Anatolius' own words.

[1] I give the dates that arise from the same principles of calculation as I used on pp. 142–3, noting where there were likely to be differences.

T. NICKLIN.

TIBULLIANA.

I i 33 sqq.

> at uos exiguo pecori, furesque lupique,
> parcite: de magno est praeda petenda grege.
> *hic* ego pastoremque meum lustrare quotannis
> et placidam soleo spargere lacte Palem.

I am not surprised to see from Hiller's apparatus criticus that *hic* has been questioned. '*hunc* Dietrich, *hoc* R. Richter, *ipse* Leonhard.' It is said to mean 'on my farm.' But there is nothing in the neighbourhood for it to refer to; and where in the world would Tibullus perform the *lustratio* except upon his farm? Surely there can be no doubt that we should restore 'hi*nc*,' i.e. 'de meo pecore.'

I ii 7 sq.

> ianua difficilis domini te uerberet imber,
> te Iouis imperio fulmina missa petant.

So the MSS, corruptly. For, if we punctuate after 'domini,' then either 'domini' is absolute surplusage after 'ianua difficilis' or else Tibullus in his *παρακλαυσίθυρον* is made to complain that the master of the house is 'disobliging,' viz. not a *leno uxoris suae*; while if we accept the alternative punctuation vouched for by Hiller and place the comma after 'difficilis,' 'domini' must be referred, clumsily and superfluously, to 'Iouis'[1]. The old correction 'domin*ae*' introduces a word which is need-

[1] I iii 49 is of course quite different.

less if 'difficilis' be nominative, and inappropriate if it be genitive, as is shown in both cases by the previous couplet 'nam *posita est nostrae custodia* saeua *puellae* | clauditur et dura *ianua* firma sera.' I know of no other conjecture beyond Baehrens' unhappy 'domitu.'

Two observations may help us towards an emendation of the text. First that in the other two places where Tibullus uses 'difficilis' it is constructed with a dative of the person, I viii 27 'difficilis puero,' ix 20 'asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus.' Secondly that 'dominus' in this connexion need not express legal but, if the expression may pass, *moral* ownership of the door. Thus when Ovid desires Cypassis, the tiring woman of Corinna, to oblige *him*, he says *Amores* 2. 8. 26 'unum est e *dominis* emeruisse satis.' Tibullus represents himself as standing in the same relation to the *ianua*. We should read then

ianua difficilis dominis, te uerberet imber.

The succession of sibilant endings *-is*, *-īs* (or *is*) is no objection to the proposal: see v. 90 'post Veneris uinclis' or 17 'seu quis iuuenis.'

I ix 35 36.

illis eriperes uerbis mihi sidera caeli
lucere et *puras* fulminis esse uias.

In H. Belling's *Albius Tibullus: Untersuchung* pp. 144 (and note) sqq. reasonable exception is taken to the use of *purus*. I adopt without reserve his statement 'Der Ausdruck 'puras fulminis vias' ist sonderbar und ohne Prämisse psychologisch kaum begreiflich.' As however I find his view of the passage as a whole mistaken, I will at once say how I understand it. Tibullus says to the faithless beloved 'There was such a power in your words that you might have made me disbelieve the most patent facts of common knowledge,' that there is no light in the stars or that the sun does not shine at midday. The uses of *uincere*, *auferre*, *extorquere* when a conviction is produced are well known. The peculiarity here is that the

infinitive expresses as an object the conviction which is taken away. It is however not more remarkable in its way than the use of the same mood in I viii 35 'at Venus inueniet puero *concumbere* furtim.'

Tibullus' employment of his vocabulary moves within such narrow bounds that it is a matter of prudence to inquire what is the sense of *purus* in its other occurrences in his poems. It is limited to 'ceremonial cleanness,' I i 38 'puris-fictilibus,' iii 25 'pure-lauari,' 26 'puro-toro,' v 11 'sulphure puro,' x 24 'purum-fauum,' 27 'pura cum ueste' (also in II i 13), II i 14 'puris manibus.' But *purus* for *shining*, the only sense intelligible here, is not only widely removed from the usage of Tibullus, but from that of all Latin literature. As Belling points out, we expect it to mean 'clear,' 'cloudless' or the like, and it is a natural error on his part to attempt to refer it to 'a bolt from the blue' (Hor. *carm.* 1. 34. 5). We may say then without fear of contradiction that *puritas* is the last thing that a Roman would regard as characteristic of the *fulminis uiae*[1].

The MS tradition of Tibullus, like that of so many Latin authors, contains capital confusions of letters embedded in minuscule. I quote one in order to emend a spelling. The Itali corrected 'irrita' in III iv 96; but we should read '*in*rita' (cf. Prof. Buck in Cl. Rev. 1899, p. 162 *a*). IRITA was misread IPIA (i.e. 'impia'). Following this hint we may well conjecture that for PVRAS we should write RVBRAS. *ruber* is a word which Tibullus uses, and for the '*red* levin' we may compare Ovid *Her.* 3. 64 'aut *rutilo* missi *fulminis igne* cremer,' Val. Fl. 6. 55 sq. 'nec primus radios, miles Romane, corusci | *fulminis* et *rutilas* scutis diffuderis *alas*' = Claudian *Rapt.* 2. 229 'ni Iuppiter aethere summo | pacificas *rubri* torsisset *fulminis alas*,' Hor. *carm.* 1. 2. 2 sq. '*rubente* | dextera sacras iaculatus arces,' and in Greek Pind. *Ol.* 9. 6 Δία τε φοινικοστερόπαν. We now see why Virgil chooses a '*rubra* aethra' as the background of the 'fuluos Iouis ales' (*Aen.* 12. 247 sq.), upon which place Conington has the extraordinary comment "'Rubra' is an exaggerated term as applied to the ordinary light of day."

[1] Thus Statius *Siluae* 1. 4. 64 has 'fulminis *atri*.'

I x 7 sqq.

diuitis hoc uitium est auri, nec bella fuerunt
faginus astabat cum scyphus ante dapes;
non arces, non uallus erat somnumque petebat
securus uarias dux gregis inter oues.
tunc mihi uita foret . . nec tristia nossem
arma nec audissem corde micante tubam.
nunc ad bella trahor, et iam quis forsitan hostis
haesura in nostro tela gerit latere.

For the missing word in verse 11 the manuscripts give *uulgi* which is said to mean 'soldiery.' The evidence appears to be the following quotations; Ovid *met.* 13. 1 (of the Iudicium armorum) 'Consedere *duces* et *uulgi* stante corona'; Nepos *Alc.* 8. 2 'Alcibiades (an undoubted *dux*) ad exercitum uenit Atheniensium, ibique praesente *uolgo*, agere coepit'; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 25 'suspensos ceterorum animos diuersis artibus stimulant, *primores militum* per beneficia Nymphidii ut suspectos, *uolgus* et ceteros ira' e.q.s. These passages do indeed show that *uolgus* may be used of a crowd of soldiers, as of a crowd of beasts, insects, ghosts, stars, or any other things to which individuality can be assigned, in contradistinction to their *duces*. But no *dux* is visible in the context except the *dux gregis* of 10, nor any reason why Tibullus should limit his view to the sufferings and dangers of the rank and file. *dulcis, uulgo, ueluti,* with other weak or useless stop-gaps have been proposed. We may pass them by, and turn instead to Tibullus' own pages for indications as to which of the discomforts of warfare was most likely to rise to his thoughts. He sums these up in the second couplet of his prefatory poem, in sense identical with ours, 'quem labor adsiduus uicino terreat (='corde micante') hoste, | Martia cui *somnos* classica pulsa *fugent.*' The contrasted idea occurs in 43 'satis est, *requiescere lecto* | si licet' and again in 45, and 48 '*securum somnos* imbre iuuante *sequi.*' But why multiply quotations, when his ideal of rest is given in the present passage, '*somnum*que petebat | securus—dux gregis'? But the lightest of changes is required: a shifting of two

letters will give us all; for *u* and *ii* are undistinguishable in the earlier cursive.

> tunc mihi uita foret, u*igili* nec tristia nossem
> arma nec audissem corde micante tubam.

The dative of the person after *tristis* is in the manner of Tibullus, I vi 2 'post tamen es misero tristis et asper Amor.' Compare the remarks upon *difficilis* above. I have placed a comma after 'foret,' because it appears impossible to say whether the mood is a subjunctive of wish or of condition. The point is quite immaterial to the sense.

II iii 15 sqq.

These lines have suffered much from the ravages of time or accident. But something may be done for them. The construction at least may be shown, and the last pentameter restored. Thus

> ipse deus solitus stabulis expellere uaccas
> *dicitur* . . . . . ,
> et miscere nouo docuisse coagula lacte,
> lacteus et mixt*is* obriguisse liquor.

I had thought that I could claim the credit for the restoration of 'mixtis' (sc. coagulis) for the MS 'mixtus,' but I learn from Prof. J. S. Phillimore that the slight change is in a fifteenth century Italian MS. *dicitur* or *fertur*, which I assume for the construction of 'solitus,' participle, and 'docuisse,' infinitive, a combination which appears elsewhere (Hor. *carm.* 1. 16. 13 sqq. 'fertur Prometheus—*coactus*—et—*adposuisse*') is easily supplied again after 'liquor.' The confusion of *u* and *i* is perpetual. I may cite from Tibullus 'un*is*' I ii 90 F. W. Richter, 'un*us*' the MSS.

II iv 7 sqq.

> o ego ne possim tales sentire dolores
> quam mallem in gelidis montibus esse lapis
> stare uel insanis cautes obnoxia uentis
> naufraga quam · · tunderet unda maris.

The Ambrosianus omits the adjective after 'quam,' the Vaticanus [3270], our next best authority, has the strange epithet *uitrei.* The vulgate *uasti* seems to be nothing but a fifteenth century conjecture, possibly hatched out of *uitrei* or something resembling it. Unless we suppose that the word is wholly lost, we are driven back upon *uitrei.* This word does not look like the invention of an emender however stupid. It seems incredible that he should have introduced a 'glassy sea' (Hor. *carm.* 4. 2. 3 sq.) into this scene of storm and shipwreck. In *uitrei* then the truth should lie buried. Observing that *u* and *b* are confused in the tradition at I i 29 '*lu*dentem' A for '*ui*d.' from '*bi*d.' (cf. the corruptions at I x 49 'nitens uomer uiderit' for 'bidens uomerque nitent'), *t* and *l* at III ii 21 'uētis' (uentis) for 'ue*l*is,' *c* and *e* at III iv 47 '*c*uique' for '(*a*)euique,' we see that palaeography throws no obstacle in our way if we would suppose the shipwrecking breakers of Tibullus to be those of the notorious *mare Libycum.* See Aen. 7. 718 sq. '*quam multi Libyco* uoluuntur *marmore fluctus*, | serus ubi Orion *hibernis* conditur undis,' Val. Fl. 6. 411 '*Libyco* nec talis imago | *litore* cum *fractas* aduoluunt aequora *puppes*,' Stat. *Theb.* 10. 622 'Trinacria qualis | ora *repercussum Libyco* mare sumit ab *aestu*' and, two passages which show a noticeable similarity to the expression here, Lucan 8. 861 sq. 'augustius aris | victoris *Libyco pulsatur* in *aequore saxum*' (Pompey was buried on the extreme verge of the land, ib. 796 'situs est qua terra extrema refuso | pendet in oceano') and, above all, Ov. *Fast.* 3. 568 '(Melite) insula, quam *Libyci uerberat unda* freti.'

III (Lygdamus) iv 57 sqq.

carminibus celebrata tuis formosa Neaera
alterius mauult esse puella uiri,
diuersasque *suas* agitat mens impia curas
nec gaudet casta nupta Neaera domo.

'suas' is very poor even for Lygdamus, and Baehrens conjectured *tuis.* Perhaps we should read 'suis,' i.e. *se dignis, ταῖς προσηκούσαις,* which would agree well with 'mens impia.' This sense of *suus* requires no illustration, and may well have been employed by Lygdamus as he has '*non meus*—deus' in iii 28.

III vi 55 sq.

perfida nec merito nobis inimica merenti,
perfida sed quamuis perfida cara tamen.

It is not now generally believed that in Catullus 107. 5 sq. (which Lygdamus may well have had in his mind as he has more than one reminiscence of Catullus) 'insperanti' agrees with 'nobis,' but with 'mi' in the previous line; and we must have something better than 'absente *nobis*' (or '*uobis*') from the comic drama before we accept 'nobis—merenti' as grammatical Latin. I agree with the Itali that 'inimica' is corrupt: but 'nec amica' is hardly satisfactory. Perhaps we should read '*et* amica' (neut. plur. 'friendly treatment') and punctuate

perfida nec merito nobis, *et amica* merenti
perfida; e. q. s.

Pan. Messallae 64 sqq.

Cimmerion etiam obscuras accessit ad arces
quis numquam candente dies apparuit ortu
seu supra terras Phoebus seu curreret infra;
uidit ut inferno Plutonis subdita regno
magna deum proles leuibus *discurreret* umbris.

The excellent Dissen writes in explanation of 68 sq. as follows: '*magna deum proles, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα*, *Odyss.* XI 631, Heynius comparat. sunt heroes. porro *levibus discurreret umbris* dictum ut "incedere forma humana." sunt enim ipsi heroes nunc levis [rather leves] umbrae ut vidit Passeratius ususque est poeta locutione, *magna deum proles*, huius ipsius oppositionis causa. *discurrere* est errare, uagari per Orcum,' e. q. s.

The ablative and Dissen's defence of it are equally incredible; and our suspicions of corruption are confirmed when we note that two lines before *curreret* stands immediately over *discurreret*. The repetition of the same word in another place is a not uncommon lapse of the scribes of Tibullus. I may cite for examples I viii 10, 11 'comas'—'comas' (for 'genas'), and from the Pan. 'contendere' in 93 from 94, in 112 *b* 'saecula famae' from the previous line, 'domator' in 116 from 'modātor' in

115, 'non sinit' in IV ix 2 from viii ult. The *dis* however of the verb seems to be a remnant of the genuine reading, and emendation must take account of it.

Heyne did well to cite Od. 11. 631 Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα, though he did not discern its precise bearing upon our passage. θεοί is a general expression for Zeus, whose sons Theseus and Pirithous were (*Il.* 2. 741, 14. 317). And here the reference is to another son of Jove, *Od.* 11. 568 sqq. ἔνθ' ἦ τοι Μίνωα Φίδον Διὸς ἀγλαὸν υἱόν, | χρύσεον σκῆπτρον ἔχοντα θεμιστεύοντα νέκυσσι κ.τ.λ. Compare also Hor. *carm.* 2. 13. 21 'quam paene furuae *regna Proserpinae* | et *iudicantem uidimus* Aeacum.' What we should restore then is 'ius *di*ceret,' where the letters in italics are the letters of *dis*, and the rest (though it is quite unnecessary to insist upon this) have representatives in *curreret*.

VITA TIBULLI. Albius Tibullus eques R. insignis forma cultuque corporis obseruabilis ante alios Coruinum Messallam *originem* dilexit, cuius et contubernalis Aquitanico bello militaribus donis donatus est.

Scholars appear to be right in wishing to introduce the proper cognomen of Messalla, *orator*, for which it is enough to refer to the quotations in Dessau, *Prosopographia* s.v., but 'or*atorem*' can hardly have been corrupted to 'or*iginem*,' and, as Baehrens saw, *or* may stand by itself for the full word. The remaining letters *iginem* seem to have come from *īgenue*. *ingenue* is a most appropriate word for describing the feelings of Tibullus towards 'his Messalla': see their expression in I iii, vii, II i 31 sqq. As the Life has been regarded not without reason as ultimately of Suetonian origin, it may be mentioned that Suetonius uses the adverb.

J. P. POSTGATE.

PLUTARCH *DE PYTHIAE ORACULIS* 25. 407 A.

ὕστερον δὲ τὸ σαφῶς καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἕκαστα καὶ μὴ σὺν ὄγκῳ μηδὲ πλάσματι μανθάνειν ἀγαπῶντες ἠτιῶντο τὴν περικειμένην τοῖς χρησμοῖς ποίησιν, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀντιπράττουσαν τῇ νοήσει πρὸς τἀληθὲς ἀσάφειάν τε καὶ σκιὰν τῷ φραζομένῳ μιγνύουσαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τὰς μεταφορὰς καὶ τὰ αἰνίγματα καὶ τὰς ἀμφιβολίας, ὥσπερ μυχοὺς καὶ καταφυγὰς ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν τῷ πταίοντι πεποιημένας τῆς μαντικῆς, ὑφεωρῶντο.

The purport of the sentence which begins with the words *οὐ μόνον ὡς ἀντιπράττουσαν τῇ νοήσει πρὸς τἀληθές*, is that the veil of poetical language made the attainment of truth more difficult, and obscured the meaning of the response. Now I dare not say that *ἀντιπράττειν τῇ νοήσει πρὸς τἀληθές*—'to counteract the understanding in the search for truth'—is an impossible phrase. But it seems to me that a veil or envelope 'obstructs', rather than 'counteracts', and accordingly, in place of *ἀντιπράττουσαν*, I would write *ἀντιφράττουσαν*. For instances of the use of the word *ἀντιφράττειν*, see Bonitz's Index to Aristotle, and Wyttenbach's Index to Plutarch. Here, it will suffice to quote from Plutarch *de primo frigido* 17. 953 A *μαθηματικοὶ δὲ γῆς σκιὰν οὖσαν* [sc. *τὴν νύκτα*] *ἀποδεικνύουσιν ἀντιφραττούσης πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*: that is to say, *ἡ γῆ ἀντιφράττει πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον*. So, in the passage before us, *τὸ περικείμενον ἀντιφράττει πρὸς τἀληθές*.

HENRY JACKSON.

13 *October* 1901.

OXFORD MSS OF THE 'OPUSCULA' OF DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

§ 1. In a former paper in this journal (xxvii 70—99) I described the manuscripts of the *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων* which are in the Bodleian Library. The composition of the text and notes of MS. Canonici gr. XLV I attempted to trace to a friend or pupil of P. Victorius. But Prof. Richard Förster kindly compared a few specimens of the handwriting with that of Andreas Dudith[1], and pronounced the opinion that possibly—but only *possibly*—it might be the hand of Dudith which annotated the MS. Dudith visited Italy (1550–1554) and studied at Padua in 1559. He published the translation of the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* (with a dedication from Padua) in 1560, and we learn from the preface[2] that he had taken in hand a translation of the *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων*. It is quite probable that if he had access to Laur. LIX 15 (as Usener thinks[3]) for the *Ἰσαῖος* and *περὶ Δεινάρχου*, he did not neglect to consult it for the *περὶ συνθέσεως*. But if Can. gr. XLV be a transcript

[1] The shortest and clearest account of the literary work of A. Dudith will be found in an article by R. Förster (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum und für Paedagogik*, 1900, I pp. 74—93).

[2] 'meum consilium hoc fuit...ut sententias ipsas appenderem. Quod quidem institutum in aliis quoque eiusdem scriptoris libris quos de arte rhetorica deque apta inter se verborum collocatione scripsit...servavi...quos quidem...aliquando, ut spero divulgabo'.

[3] ed. Teubn. p. xxx. A manuscript catalogue, procured for Sir Henry Savile by Samuel Slade, describes a MS in the Vatican [gr. 64] which contains *Διονυσίου Ἁλικαρνάσσεως περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων, περὶ Λυσίου, περὶ Ἰσοκράτους, περὶ Ἰσαίου, περὶ Δυνάρχου, ἰδιωτικοὶ γνήσιοι, ἰδιωτικοὶ ψευδεπίγραφοι.* (Auct. F, infr. I 13, formerly Arch. A, 194.)

made by, or at least annotated by, Dudith, it does not seem to have been sent with his other manuscripts to Sylburg in 1585[1]. For Sylburg acknowledges the receipt of seven of the 'opuscula', and the *περὶ συνθέσεως* is not one of them.

§ 2. In the early part of 1581 Sir Henry Savile, who was fellow of Merton, visited Dudith at Breslau. He copied from an 'exemplar Duditianum' the Greek text of the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* '26 Martii 1581 ipso Paschae die'. He copied also the *Ἰσαῖος*, *περὶ Δεινάρχου* and *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως* at the same time, as paper and writing show. In August of 1581 Dudith wrote to Savile at Venice[2], asking him to procure for him manuscript copies of Greek philosophical or mathematical treatises. In 1584 Savile was again with Dudith at Breslau[3], acting as his amanuensis. In 1585 he became Warden of Merton, and in 1620 he gave his transcript of these 'opuscula' to the Bodleian[4]. The four treatises were, practically, unknown in 1580. There was Dudith's translation of the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* (1560) and an Aldine edition of the Greek text of a part of this treatise[5] which was never completed or published. In Dec. 1580 Victorius sent his edition of the *Ἰσαῖος* and *περὶ Δεινάρχου* to be published at Lyons. But at Breslau in March 1581 it would be pardonable for Dudith and Savile to believe that these treatises had never seen the light, and I think it will be plain from the notes which follow that the edition of Victorius was unknown to Savile at that time.

§ 3. Both text and notes of the Bodleian transcript were written by Savile himself. His writing was recognized by Dr Coxe, and Hudson (II *praef.*) was not wrong when he surmised that the notes on the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* and *περὶ*

[1] Förster, p. 84. Feb. 25. D. mentions the *περὶ Θουκ.* of which he sent S. a transcript, and 'alia eius generis quae coniuncta asservo'. The letter is here ungrammatical.

[2] See Förster, p. 84, *n.* 2: si quid erit in ista urbe, graece praesertim Mathematicum et philosophicum, mihi quoque cura.

[3] Förster, p. 85, *n.* 2.

[4] Originally Arch. A, 193.

[5] Usener, p. xxxii. Sylburg and Hudson did not know of this edition 'quippe nunquam perfectae neque publice emissae'. Was this the Greek text supplied by P. Manutius to Dudith? Sylburg's edition is really the 'editio princeps' of the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου*.

τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως[1] were Savile's: but the same is true of the notes on the Ἰσαῖος and περὶ Δεινάρχου. Another hand has added a few notes on the περὶ Θουκυδίδου: these are chiefly references to Thucydides by the pages of the text of H. Stephanus, the edition to which Sylburg refers in his notes. For the rest, the work is Savile's. He was, clearly, seeking for what was unknown or unpublished. So he omitted many of the long citations from Demosthenes, Isocrates, Plato and Thucydides. His purpose is also shown by his marginal notes. Among the *marginalia* which are not textual notes are the following:—[p. 325, 3 ed. Teubn.] 'Liber Dionysii de imitatione non extat, opinor'. [p. 93, 3] Ἰσαῖος Ἀθηναῖος· 'praefixa erat praefatio illa quam edidit Stephanus[2] in 8°, suntque haec de Isaeo illis editis a R. Stephano[3] sine dubio proxime subiungenda'. [p. 124, 7] 'atqui iste liber, ut opinor, non extat neque fuit in manuscripto D (*sic*) Duditii: extabit procul dubio alicubi in Italia'. [p. 136, 12] 'haec impressa sunt[3] in epła ad Cn. Pompeium usque ad *οὐκέτι πόρρω διθυράμβων φθέγγομαι*'; the extract from the letter is therefore omitted. These notes show the hope of Savile to discover (perhaps for Dudith) certain 'opuscula' of Dionysius which were lost, and the desire to procure a copy of others which were then unpublished. Some light is also thrown on the 'exemplar Duditianum', for we see that the preface to the περὶ ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων preceded the Ἰσαῖος. Only a few lines of this preface are preserved in Laur. LIX 15 (or its apograph Vat. Misc. gr. 64), but there can be no doubt that Dudith had access to a MS of Usener's third class both for it and for the Ἰσαῖος. There is also a note in Savile's handwriting which I give as it stands in the MS. At the beginning of the περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως, the title is ἡ περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων πραγματεία: note ('desunt multa') is then made that the beginning of the treatise is lost. Then follows the title found in Usener's MSS PB—Θουκυδίδου

[1] 'quaedam scite admodum annotaverat Savilii, ut puto, manus erudita'. In *Journ. of Phil.* xxvii p. 73, *n.* 3, I was wrong in stating that the notes in the margin of the Aldine Ammonius were by Savile's hand.

[2] 1554, H. Stephanus (Usen. p. xxvii).

[3] 1547, (Usen. *ibid.*).

ἔκφρασις τῆς στάσεως τῶν Κερκυραίων. Savile's note on the former title is: 'sic est titulus in epta ad Cn. Pompeium. ex fine *coniectura est* (*apparet* was first written) titulum fuisse περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς δεινότητος τοῦ δημοσθένους [*ubi etiam alium promittit* περὶ τῆς πραγματικῆς[1]] id quod etiam ex ἀνακεφαλαιώσει colligitur quae fol. 23 posita est. In libro Duditii scriptum est nescio cuius manu: fragmentum Dionysii Halicarnassei de Atticis Rhetoribus seu de formis orationis'. This note appears in Ambros. c. 257 inf., but I am inclined to believe that it is copied from Savile, for in the Ambrosian MS the reference to the page of Stephanus' edition is incomplete, and there is no trace of the 'apparet' which no doubt seemed to the *author* of the note a more emphatic word than the context warranted: and 'conjectum est' is more likely to have arisen from 'coniectura est' than *vice versa*.

§ 4. The other *marginalia* in Savile's transcript which are not critical notes contain summaries of the argument, tables of contents and lists of proper names mentioned by Dionysius. These are not important, but the critical notes are of some value. There are, in the first place, 'variae lectiones' which enable us to understand the composition of Dudith's 'exemplar' (e). These are chiefly found in the Ἰσαῖος. They prove completely the truth of Usener's statement that Dudith 'tertiae sylloges codice usus est Palatini simillimo'. A list of them will be found in the appendix to this article. It is enough here to point out the agreement of P and o (Savile's transcript) in 93, 14 ἀκριβῶς; 98, 14 ἀφειμένου; 99, 9 ἐμοὶ μὲν; 101, 5 μετὰ] μὲν; 103, 10 ἐπιτροπίαν P[1], pr. o; 104, 7 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον; 105, 7 εἰσαγαγεῖ. With this clue to guide us we can discover the principle which Dudith followed in his 'exemplar' of the περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως. In this treatise the Palatine MS omits many sentences, and all the editors before Radermacher present a very incomplete text. That it was corrupt, was plain to Savile and Sylburg (p. 32[b]). Savile says 'in hoc libro multa imperfecta, multa depravata'. The agreement of e (as reported by Sylburg) with o is remarkably

[1] This sentence is inserted over the line, perhaps as an afterthought. For Ambros. c. 257 inf., see Usen. p. xxxi.

close: but it is not complete, e.g. 205, 23 *ἀρετὴν* o, 'duplex in exemplari est scriptura *ἀρετὴν* et *λέξιν*: atque *ἀρετὴν* primo deletum, deinde margini ascriptum'. 220, 21 *ἐβουλεύετο*, o: *ἐβούλετο* e. 231, 21 *ὑπομνηματικῶν* e (?), *ὑπομνηματισμῶν* o. Many of the blunders of spelling in the Palatine MS do not appear in Savile's transcript and were not mentioned by Sylburg in his notes on the text of Dudith's 'exemplar'. It is not possible to say how far the work of correction had gone before 1581, or with certainty to ascribe any share in it to Dudith. But the probability is, I think, that Dudith had done a good deal. In the *περὶ Δεινάρχου* at least, where there can have been no various readings, Dudith's 'exemplar' was in many points more correct than the Laurentian text[1]. If we may assume that corrections of the Palatine readings had been made in Dudith's copy (by himself or by another) and that others had been in some way indicated, we can explain why none of the omissions in the Palatine MS had been supplied in his copy, and yet the Oxford transcript and Sylburg's 'exemplar', or text, agree against the testimony of P in many certain corrections. It is harder to explain whence such readings as 131, 2 *τοῦτον*, 146, 12 *τούτους* 150, 10 *ἠσθόμεθα* 18 *ἐκέλευσεν* 162, 5 *δημηγοροῦντας* were derived. But Savile at Breslau may have learnt from Dudith some things which did not appear in the MS sent to Sylburg, or he may have tacitly corrected Dudith's text.

[1] **297**, 6 *τὸν ὑπεριδῃ* (*sic*) o **298**, 8 *δὲ ἐνετύχομεν* o 13 *συντεθεικῶς* pr. o (i.e. inter scribendum correctus) **300**, 7 *ἀθηναίοις* F^2, o 13 *πεντεκαιδεκαετῆ* o 15 *συγχωρήσαντος* o 19 *γηραιὸς ὢν* o **302**, 20 *τῇ καθεστώσῃ* o **303**, 20 *ἐπ' ἀναξικράτους* o corr. **304**, 18 *δύναιτ'* o **305**, 8 *ὁμολογούμενος* ante corr. o **306**, 7 *ἔχοντες* o, *-ε-* in litura **309**, 17 *τοῦ τ'* o post multas lituras **311**, 12 *δεινίου* 17 *καθ' ἱμερίου* o **312**, 4 *εὖ* inest in o 18 *δημόσιοι ψευδεπίγραφοι* o corr. **313**, 14 *ἀπαγωγῆς* o **314**, 18 *εἰσαγγελτικὸς* o **315**, 12 *εἰκὸς* o **316**, 4 *ἄν τις αὐτὸν* o 18 *ὑμᾶς* pr. o **317**, 7 *ὧν* o 10 *αὐτοῦ* o **318**, 7 *δικαίαν* o **319**, 14 *ὧν*] o corr. Some of these readings are not to be found in the edition of Victorius, and some corrections of Victorius are not found in o: e.g. **304**, 12 *ἀκριβεστέρου* **305**, 20 *πρέποντι* **311**, 2 *δοκιμασία* 14 *καλλαίσχρου* **317**, 3 *περγαμηνοῖς*. Proprii errores of o are: **301**, 6 om. *τὴν* **303**, 6 *λογισμῶν* **306**, 21 *ἐν δε ἑτέρως* **309**, 2 *ἀφόδοις* **311**, 2 *δοκιμασίαν* **312**, 14 *οὖν* (if it be an error) and others.

§ 5. There remains the text of the περὶ Θουκυδίδου which Dudith had himself derived from Manutius. He had revised it carefully between 1560 and 1585, and the transcript which he furnished to Sylburg probably incorporated many of these changes. I do not know from what source the reading περιπόλους (352, 7) and some others were derived. Usener ascribes it to Dudith, and he translated the word, but it is not certain that he was the corrector of the corrupt πολλούς.

§ 6. Lastly, there are conjectural emendations by Sir Henry Savile in the margin. Some are corrections of a very corrupt text, and any one who glances at the critical apparatus of the Teubner text of the περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως can estimate the amount of emendation necessary to prepare an 'editio princeps' founded on the Palatine tradition. The same corrections were made by Sylburg in many passages, but quite independently. There remain a fair proportion of successful 'emendations'. Only these were reported by Hudson, and I think it is due to the memory of Sir Henry Savile to put all his emendations together and at the same time to give some evidence of his care as a transcriber in the appendix to this paper. It seems to follow from Sylburg's note (p. 32[b]) and his preface that he received from Dudith more than one MS of the opuscula: that they were not all in one handwriting, and (p. 32[b]) the MS of the περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους was of a later date. Savile's transcript shows that the 'exemplar Dudithii' of this treatise was annotated: 'In Dudithii libro scriptum est nescio cuius manu: fragmentum etc.' It also shows that the Ἰσαῖος was drawn from two MSS at least, and the resulting text was a recension, rather than a consistent record of one tradition, set out with notes of the other in the margin. Not much is learnt from the περὶ Δεινάρχου, except that Dudith, though he made a few corrections, was very careful of the Florentine readings. The evidence of Savile's transcript of the περὶ Θουκυδίδου confirms Sylburg's statement that the text had been revised by Dudith with much care. The note which is prefixed to the Ἰσαῖος, as I have already said, proves that the preface to the περὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ῥητόρων was found by Savile in Dudith's 'exemplar' (or 'exemplaria'). Of this nothing is said by Sylburg.

An isolated note[1] refers to the letter to Cn. Pompeius which Sylburg received from Dudith. Savile makes no mention of the first letter to Ammaeus or the part of the Ars Rhetorica which was also sent by Dudith in 1585. The agreement of Savile's transcript with Sylburg's *text* throughout the *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* and *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως* proves, I think, that a large number of necessary corrections of the Palatine text had been made by Dudith or were contained in the MS transmitted to him. Where Sylburg and Savile are compelled to correct the text by conjecture, there we have usually before us the Palatine text. The fact that Dudith's exemplar of the *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως* supplied no single omission of the Palatine MS[2] is most important. It would seem that Dudith had no other MS such as Usener's M[3] or B at hand when he worked over this treatise.

The characteristic of Savile's work is its care and fidelity. Sometimes he wrote down the true reading and then replaced the reading of the manuscript. At other times he recorded the reading of the manuscript over the true text. The very simplest corrections are offered by him as 'ex conjectura'. Something of this caution appears in the preface to his Chrysostom. It was foreign to his purpose to make a systematic recension of the text of these 'opuscula'. In 1586 Sylburg's edition was published and he might well have exclaimed 'pereant qui nostra ante nos dixerunt'. Whatever may have been the faults of Sir Henry Savile, and he contrived to displease Casaubon, he was eminently diligent. A curious monument of his industry

[1] Between the Isaeus and Deinarchus.

[2] e.g. **129**, 24; **133**, 16; **147**, 5; **151**, 14 etc. Not one of these passages has been corrected in Savile's margin: the cause of the error has in a few places been perceived.

[3] o agrees with M in a few places: **131**, 2 *τοῦτον* M[1], o (v. l.) **134**, 8 *σκέψασθε* **144**, 4 *τι* M, pr. o **146**, 12 *τούτους* M, o (v. l.) **151**, 15 *δειπνῶν* M, o (v. l.) **160**, 1 *αὐτὴν* M, o corr. **171**, 20 *οἱ*] *ἐκεῖνος* M, pr. o **178**, 16 *καὶ τερατείας* M, o corr. **206**, 5 *οὐδ' οἰκείως* **207**, 15 *γοητευθέντες* **212**, 7 *προσθήκης τινὸς μοίραν* 10 *σχηματισμους* **217**, 7 *δεῖ διώκειν* **241**, 8 *μηκύνειν* Mo, mg. e 10 *ἐγένετο* pr. M, o. This list is not complete, but in the instances omitted there seems to be no more need to assume that two MS traditions have been contaminated than there is in the above. The omissions of e and o seem decisive against such a theory.

is the collection of 'indices auctorum' to certain manuscript copies of the catalogues of Bessarion's MSS and those in the Vatican and Palatine and Laurentian libraries which a fellow of Merton, Samuel Slade, procured for him in 1604. At that time Savile was looking out for MSS of Chrysostom. In these catalogues he marked every MS of Chrysostom. Of the MSS of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (e.g. Laur. LIX 15, Vat. gr. 64, Palat. gr. 58) he made no note, and I do not suppose he kept up the interest in the 'opuscula' which was inspired in him by his association with Dudith in 1581.

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APPENDIX.

Palatinus (gr. 58) P
Laurentianus LIX, 15 F
Editio Sylburgiana f
'Exemplar' Sylburgii e
Apographum Savilii o

1. In Isaeo (*a*) plerumque o cum F vel F^1 consentit. Quoties cum solo P congruit vel lectiones Palatino proprias adhibet, mentionem feci. (*b*) Emendationes Savilii subiunxi.

2. In tractatu *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως* illud mihi propositum est (*a*) ut lectiones quae in P o f exstant praeteream, ceteras exscribam. (*b*) Sequuntur emendationes Savilii.

3. In tractatu *περὶ Δεινάρχου* id egi (*a*) ut discrepantiam quae inter F et o apparet indicem. (*b*) Est ubi Savilius ipse verum viderit.

4. In tractatu *περὶ Θουκυδίδου* (*a*) quaecumque aliter in o atque in f leguntur commemoravi. (*b*) Non multa correxit Savilius.

Editione Teubneriana usus sum.

1 Ἰσαῖος (pp. 93—124).

(*a*) **93**, 12 *δια το μὴ δὲ* 14 *ἀκριβῶς* pr. o

94, 6 *τὸν*] *τοῦ* 16 *ὑπειληφαμεν*

95, 1 *τε* pr. o 2 *ἡ τοῦ τῆς*] *τοῦ* pr. o 8 *τῆς τοῦ περιεργοτερα* 13 *πράγμασιν* 18 *παρὰ*

96, 7 *χρώμασι μὲν* 9 *χαρίεν* 11 *ἐξειργασμεναι* 12 *ποικιλλομεναι* 13 *ἔοικεν* 15 *ὃ*] inest 18 *διεβαλλετο* 21 *φησί*

97, 1 *ἀπὸ* 2 *τε*] inest 7 *τὰ*] inest, post *τοιαῦτα* lac vi litt. 10 *διαλλαττοντα* 16 *εὐμαθοῦς*, item infra *τραπεζιτευόντων* (*sic*) 17 *ἀγόμενον*, ad mg. *κατὰ λεγόμενον*

98, 2 *δικαίως κατ' ἐμὲ, ἐν ἐμοὶ* supra scr. 3 *συσώζειν ὑμῶν*] *ἡμῶν* 7 *οἰκείους*, supra scr. *ἰδίους* 10 *οἰκείους καὶ ἐνεφάνισε* 14 *προσεισευπορησαν* 15 *ἀφειμένου*, *-νου* lineola notatur 17 *ὑποσχήσω*, *ὑπο-* lineola notatur 18 *δὴ*] *δὲ* pr. o 20 *περὶ Φερενίκου*] ita pr. o et mg., *περιφέρε νίκου* o 21 *ἀνδροκλείδου* mg., *ἀνδρὸς κλείδου* pr. o

99, 5 *εἶναι* *ειναι* 9 *γὰρ*] *μὲν* pr. o 17 *χρησάμενοι* pr. o 19 *οἶδε* 23 *αἰσχρὸν οὖν μοι* supra scr. 24 *περιδεῖν* pr. o

100, 1 *τ'*] *τε* 9 *εἶναι φαίνεται* 11 *θαυμάζῃ* 16 *συσώζειν ὑψηλότερα* 18 *μηδεὶς* pr. o

101, 5 *μετὰ*] *μὲν* 10 *κηφισοδότου* 'supra *κηφισοδώρου*' Sav. 11 *εἴην* 15 *ἐκείνως* 17 *ἐπηγγέλη* 22 *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*

102, 1 *προσχηματα* 4 ut in MBP 7 *δ'*] *δὲ* 14 *ἐγκέκληκεν* pr. o 20 *ἐπιτροπειαν*

103, 1 *νῦν*] inest 10 *ἐπιτροπίαν*, *-πὴν* supra scr. 13 *καλλιλογίσασθαι*, mg. *καλλιολογίσασθαι* 23 *μετέθηκεν* supra scr.

104, 2 *δὲ ἔτι μνησθήσομαι* 5 *τε*] deest 7 *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον* 12 *εὕρημα* 19 *βουλευσομεθα* (*sic*)

105, 1 *σαυτοῦ τοῦτ'* 2 *προκαλουμένου* 4 *τῶν*] deest 5 *τοῦ*] *τῶν* 7 *εἰσαγαγεῖ* lineola notatur 10 *οὐδὲν ἄν* pr. o 13 *ὑποστεροῦντας* pr. o 18 *ἡγησάμην* pr. o 20 *συγγνώμην*

106, 2 *ἐξαρχῆς* 5 *ωμολογησειεν* 6 *λόγον νέον* sed *λόγον* punctis supra positis tollitur 17 *καὶ δόξης*, mg. *κἂν δόξῃ* (*sic*)

107, 1 *λέγων* punctis supra positis *απεχθεσθαι* 9 *τινὰς* 13 *δικαίων*, mg. *ἰδίων* 14 *οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι* 18 *τυγχάνω*

108, 7 *μὲν* punctis supra positis tollitur 11 [*παρα*]*κού*[*εσθαι*] supra scr. 17 *ψηφίσματα ταυτὶ ταύτας εἰλήφασι τινὲς* 18 *οἱ δὲ, καὶ* supra scr. 19 *εἰσενενεγμένα* (*sic*)

109, 1 ut BP 2 *παρασχέσθαι* 6 *οὐκοῦν* 7 *σοὶ* pr. o *λέγει φήσεις* 11 *οἴκοι μένων* *εἶ*] *εἰ* 17 *παραλαμβάνων* (*sic*)

110, 2 *ἐκείνω δὲ* 3 *κατὰ* deest 8 *φασίν ὧν* 10 *ἔοικε* 14 *ᾧ οἴεσθαι.*

111, 1 *καταλελειτουργηκότα* *οὐδ' εἷς* 8 *ἐξηλλαγμενα* 17 *ἀπροπαρασκευάστους* 19 *ἐφ' ὧν* 22 *τοτὲ*

112, 2 *ἐκλαμβάνει, ἐκβαίνει* o mg. 6 *ἡ* deest 7 *ἀρχιέων* 11 *γὰρ ὥς γ'* o, *γὰρ ὅσα γ'* mg.

113, 11 *τετελευτηκότος* 12 *πῶς* 14 *καὶ*] inest 22 *πράγματα* *τῷ*] *τῶς* lineola notatur

114, 7 *καὶ*] inest 11 *ἡ* ante *ἀλήθεια* deest 13 *διηγήσεων* pr. o 18 *πιστεύσειεν ἂν* 19 *μηδὲν ἄν, μηδὲν* lineola notatur 21 *τι* abest

115, 1 *ἀλλὰ* 5 *τῶν ἄλλων* pr. o *λογος* 9 *εὐφιλήτου*, *-λι-* supra scr. 10 *αρχιεων* 15 *ὑποψηφισθεῖσιν* 17 *ἐξελεγχθῶσιν* pr. o 19 *ἀχιέας* 21 *ταῦτα*

116, 1 *ποιῆσαι βούλεται* 2 *πάντα* 8 *ενεκεν* 10 *τὰ*] om. pr. o 11 *τὴν πενίαν* 14 *οὐδέτερον τούτων* pr. o 15 *ἡμεῖς* pr. o 17 *ἀπορίας* pr. o 18 *ἱκανῶς καὶ χωρὶς τούτου·*

117, 15 *ἀλληλων* pr. o 19 *εἴασαν καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν* 21 *προσήκων*

118, 5 *τουτουὶ* 11 *ἔχειεν* pr. o, *-οι-* supra scr. 12 *ἐπεδείκνυμεν* pr. o 16 *εἶτ'* 17 *ἂν*] abest

119, 3 *ἡμᾶς*] deest 6 *αὐτὴν* mg. o item v. 14 7 *ἐπὶ* semel 9 *προσήκει* pr. o *ἄμεινον* punctis supra positis 12 *γινώσκειν* pr. o *ἐγινωσκε* supra scr. *νῦν* 16 *πρῶτον* supra scr.

120, 2 *λεγουσιν* 5 *Εὐφίλητος*] inest 7 *τετελεύτηκεν* 8 *οὐδὲ μίαν* 11 *καταδιήτησαν* 12 *λαβετε*, ita F 13 *Μαρτυρία*] inest 15 *ἔφασαν* 17 *ἀπεδιαίτησαν*

121, 1 *τὴν τοῦ* 12 *μηδεὶς* pr. o *δόξει* pr. o 14 *αἱρούμενον* 23 *πολλαχοῦ*, supra scr. *πανταχοῦ*

122, 4 *μὲν* lineola notatur 8 *τέλειόν γε* 9 *ἅπασι* 10 *δεῖν* 13 *οὐδενὸς*, *-θ-* supra scr. 18 *μέντοι* 20 *ἤξιωσαν* *δαπανῶν*

123, 1 *ὁ Θρασύμαχος* 4 *οὐθένα* 7 *ἐστιν* 12 *στρόγγυλος* pr. o *περιττως* *ὅ*] *ἃ* *δὲ*] *δ'* 22 *οὐ* punctis infra positis *δὴ*] *δὲ* pr. o

124, 5 *πρὸς τὸ μηθὲν ἢ μὴ* 6 *ἀπεραντότινα* 9 *ὑπερίδου*

(*b*) **101**, 22 *ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν* o 'f. *ἀδελφιδῶν* vel *-δοῦ*'

102, 3 *οὐ τόγε* o 'f. *οὕτω γε ὥστε καὶ λειτουργεῖν* sed nescio'

105, 13 et **107**, 8 'f. *ἀηδὲς*'

107, 13 *ἰδιώτης* 'videtur aliquid superesse' perperam 22 'f. *ἐπιδεικτικῶν*' prave

109, 7 'legendum opinor *ἡσυχίαν; οἴκοι μένων βελτίων εἶ τοῦ*'

110, 14 'f. *οἴεσθε*'

115, 3 'f. [*φανε*]*ρὸς*' 19 'f. *ἀρ*[*χιέας*]'

118, 4 'videtur aliter legendum f. *πῶς ἄν τις ὑμῶν*' 11 'f. *αὐτὸν*' 13 *ἄλλο τι*] 'f. *ἄλλοθεν*' 14 'f. *αὗτη*' 15 'f. *αὐτῷ*' 17 'f. *αὐτῶν*' 'f. *ὑμᾶς*'

124, 9 'f. *λέγω*' Pauca 'ex coniectura' emendavit Savilius quae mirari possis :—

101, 19 *μέρη* pro *μέρει* 21 *ἐπιτρόπῳ* pro *ἐπὶ τρόπῳ*

102 *με* pro *μὲν*

110, 2 *ὅτου* pro *ὁ τοῦ*

115, 5 *λόγων* pro *λόγος* 15 *ἀποψηφισθεῖσιν* pro *ὑποψηφισθεῖσιν*

122, 20 *ἠξίωσα* pro *ἠξίωσαν*, *δαπανᾶν* pro *δαπανῶν*

124, 5 *τῷ* pro *τὸ* 6 *ἀπέραντόν τινα* pro *ἀπεραντότινα*

2 *περὶ τῆς Δημοσθένους λέξεως* (pp. 127—252).

In hoc tractatu raro admodum a Palatino ita discrepat Oxoniensis ut non cum Sylburgii 'exemplari' (e) aut editione (f) congruat.

128, 17 *ὧν καὶ* pr. o 18 *πείστει* P o 20 *περὶ τεχνήσει* o corr.

129, 2 *φιλέταιρος* o (?e) *ἐννομίσθη* P, pr. o 3 *ἐνάνδρου* pr. o 4 *ἅπαντα δ*᾽] *δὲ* 9 *δεικονότερος* P o 13 *ξυνεγγενὲς* 17 *πλεονεξία εἰς* P o 18 *θεία* 20 *εἴ πως*᾽ *οὖχἶεν* (*sic*) 22 *ἦν ἦ*] *ἤ*

130, 2 *εἰ ἐγκατασκενος* pr. o 13 *διδασκαλεῖον*

131, 9 *τὰ πράγματα*] *τὸν νοῦν* pr. o 12 *ἐν* deest 14 *κατεσκευάσθη* o corr. 15 *κατασκευῆς*] *ἀρετῆς* pr. o 20 *πρωτεύσαντες* o f

132, 15 *ἔχει* 16 *εἴ πως* 17 *βουλέσει*

133, 12 *διὰ κινδύνων* o f 15 *ἠμάνη μὲν* 19 *εἴωθεν*] *οἴεται* pr. o *μέλλοι*] *μέμοι*

134, 5 *φιλονεικοῦντας* 8 *σκέψασθε* o f 15 *οὖν*] deest 16 *ἐγκρατος* et *ἔνκρατος* pr. o 19 *οὔτε* o f

135, 2 *ἰδέαν* o f 3 *οὐδὲν* 22 *ἐνεπίαν*

136, 1 *τὸ συγκριτὸ συγκροῦσαι* pr. o 4 *ἐπαγωγικὴν* pr. o 6 *ἐγκαλοπιζομένην*

141, 7 *αὐτοῦ* o corr. 14 *μήνει* pr. o 18 *ἐνδὸς* pr. o

142, 4 *δείξειεν ἄν τις* pr. o 6 *μ*᾽ *ἄτερ* pr. o, *μ*᾽ *ἀτερ* 9 *ἐσσαμένω* 11 *ὁκετεύῳ* 13 *ἤνιφε τοὺς θένος* 14 *πείδον*, *-η-* supra scr. 16 *κατασλύσασα* pr. o 18 *καὶ ταῦθα* pr. o f, *καὶ ταῦτα* o corr.

143, 9 ἐπετηδευσαν, -ι- supra scr. 10 εαυτων o, ἑαυτῶν f 11 δὴ] δὲ 12 κεκινημένων, -ων lineola notatur 15 ἡμιούγους

144, 4 τι pr. o 7 μέντοι αὐτήν τινα 12 ποιουμένων, -ου supra scr. 14 πολλῶν deest 20 παύσεται pr. o f 21 δώσει pr. o f

145, 6 τοῦτο 9 ἀλλ' 15 γιγνομένων 16 ἐς ὑμᾶς

146, 2 καὶ abest. 11 ἠδυνήθη μὲν 12 τούτους o corr. 17 δ' ἂν

147, 4 τι] εἴτι 18 τούτῳ

148, 8 τοι τούτοις P o ωσπερ 9 διαγνοίης 13 ἄλογον

149, 1 τῇ ἀμετρίᾳ 3 ἀνηδῆ

150, 2 τισίας 7 τίσιν τὴν deest 10 ἤσθομεθα (*sic*) 12 προυληψεται 14 ὧν pr. o, ὥν supra scr. 18 ἐκέλευσεν

151, 8 ἐξηρεσκον pr. o, ἐξηρεσκεν o corr. 11 ἐκέλευσεν 12 γεγενημένης supra scr. 15 [δειπ]νῶν supra scr., δειπνῦν pr. o 17 λέγει pr. o

152, 1 scholion ut in e 7 Λυσίου] inest 11 τῇ deest

157, 1 γενῆσθαι 4 πρὸς o corr. 7 ἔχων inest in f ante τήνδε 15 τῇ τὴν deest

158, 1 τὸν Δημοσθένη o corr. 9 ῥήσιν lineola notatur

159, 4 βραχυτούτοις pr. o 17 ὃν pr. o 21 ut in P 22 ἐκείνων pr. o

160, 1 αὐτῶν pr. o 2 ἡμὲν 7 ἐπέστον pr. o

161, 13 τὸν 14 ἴσως] deest 16 κείνων, corr. Sav. 17 ἄξιοι o f

162, 7 ἐξειργασμένων pr. o 9 εκατερων pr. o 16 τοῦτε 25 δημαγωγοῦντας pr. o -μηγορ- supra scr. δὲ

166, 11 ἐπαγικὴ 13 συγκεκραμένη 25 τὸν δήμον

167, 7 ἐκλογῇ 14 ἐπιλογίζομαι deest 17 οὖν o f 22 γινομένοις, (163, 4 γενομένοις) 23 ταῦτα

168, 4 δυεῖν o f 12 καὶ deest 14 αὐτὰς, -ὡς pr. o

169, 6 ναῦμα αὐτῆς ἐπιστρέψαι P o 8 ἐξενεγκᾶνα o 23 δὲ o f

170, 5 πλεῖστον P o 14 μοίραν, eras. μοῖ 17 τοσαύτη pr. o

171, 17 ἀντιθέντων pr. o 20 οἳ] ἐκεῖνος pr. o ἐκεῖνοι P o corr. 23 τέλους pr. o

172, 1 ποικιλίαις pr. o e 4 ἐμμάτων e o 15 ἔργων deest

176, 1 τε deest 5 παρὰ 7 ἀμφοτέρους 10 (et 16) λόγον

177, 2 τότε 9 ἐκείνον pr. o 12 χρηματίζοντος o f 14 προενεγκάμην 22 βιβλίοις 23 εἶχε et ἤχει pr. o ἄγων

178, 7 *δόξῃ* 12 *καὶ* om. 16 *δὲ* pr. o *καὶ τερατείας* o f 17 *εὐγεῖς* lineola notatur 19 *φ* ante *πᾶσαν* del. pr. o *εἰρωνείαν* 22 *φυλάττει* P o

179, 1 *δὲ* B o 5 *ψόφους* B o 6 *αὐτοῦ* o f

180, 3 *βάλεσιν* 6 *ἀφιεσθωσαν* *αὗται* pr. o 7 ut P 8 *οὐθὲν δέομαι νῦν δὲ* e o 9 *κράτιστον* P o 13 *ἀρχίῳ* 18 *δὲ*

181, 4 *οἶδε* 13 *ταφὰς*] pr. o, supra scr. *σφᾶς* et *σφὰς*

182, 5 *κάλλους* o f 10 *αὐτῆς* 16 *τουτὶ τὸ* pr. o 19 *οὔτε*

183, 5 *τελευτῆς*, *-αῖς* supra scr. 14 *αἰσθήσεσιν* o f 15 *οὐδὲν* 20 *οὐδὲν*

184, 6 *περιττὸν*] deest, *περὶ τὸν* e 18 *λόγῳ* 21 *λόγῳ* om.

185, 1 *παρισοῦνται* *μήρια* P o 3 *ἥ δη* *ἐχούσας* 8 *δὴ ὅλοισιν* o f 10 *δὲ πιταθὲν* (*sic*) 13 *ὡς* P o, *ὃς* f *καλλωπίζειν* pr. o 20 *δὲ*

186, 3 *χρήμασιν* o e 4 *καὶ*] deest 6 *-μαι* deest 9 *δ'*] deest 10 *τειχισαμένης* *ἐκδεξαμέντι* 13 *πειρασθαι* 14 *δοξάσουσι* *δοξάζουσι* e 15 *γε το οἱ* *γέτοι* e 16 *κοσμίους* P o 17 *μισεῖσθαι*

187, 2 *πολιτείας* *τροφὴς ἐστι* (o e) 8 *τελεύσομαι* pr. o *ἐλεύ-* supra scr. 10 *μήνυτα τοιαῦτα* o e 12 *ἐτίθη* pr. o supra scr. *ἐτίθησι* 18 *ἀξιοῦνται* o e

188, 3 *δεινοτατα* 4 *τοῖς δὲ* 6 *ἀποφηναμέντι* 13 *χρωμένων* pr. o

189, 4 *οἱ*] deest 6 *εἶπεν* P o 11 *ἠκούσει* 13 *τούτοις* 16 *σφῶν ἥκοντας* etiam o 17 *περὶ... εἴρηκε* iterant P o

190, 9 *στάσις* P o 12 *ἐπῄνησαν* *εἰπών; τὰ* 13 *τοτὲ* 18 *ἐπιλαμπρότατον* coniuncte 19 *τῷ πλάτωνι*

191, 3 *καταστραγγαρεῖ* 8 *ἑξῆς ἕωμεν* lineola notantur 11 *ανθρωπεινον* (*sic*) 12 *χαμαὶ* *καὶ* om. o e 16 *μένην* o (cf P e): nulla lacuna 23 *φθονῆναι* pr o, *σ* supra scr.

192, 5 *ἀνῆκεν* *ἐγγώνοις* pr. o 6, 8, 11, 14, 17 propriis Palatini erroribus carent o e 9, 15 eisdem vitiantur 18 *δὴ* o 23 *ἡμῖν* P o

196, 21 et 23 consentiunt P o e item 197, 1, 9, 11

197, 5 *ἀντιπαρεξετάζωμεν* 9 *ἧς* susp. Sav. 11 *ἔστι δὴ*

200, 17 *αὐτῷ* 18 *δικαίως· ὃ μὲν* 19 *ἦν*] *ἢ* 21 *εἰ*] *ἢν* 23 *δύσερίς τις οὕτω*

201, 2 πομπετηρίων ὄψεις o f 4 διακόντων pr. o 6 ἐναλ-ηθεύσιν o 10 εὐκάρπῳ inest 12 περιττῶν o f 17 ἅπαντας o f

202, 4 ἐπιλελησμενου 7 consentit cum P; non ita f 9 κατὰ o corr. ἐπαγγελλμα pr. o τοῦτο τοῦ o 12 ἐπὶ ῥώμην

203, 7 καὶ deest 8 πίστοις ὑπὲρ τοῦτο δὲ ἀντιπαρηξέταζον o corr. 18 ἐπὶ o f 20 δημοσθενη pr. o

204, 5 ἐν (vel ἐν) συνόπτῳ pr. o mg. ἐν τῷ ἁδρῷ 10 χαρακ-τηρικωτάταις 13 mg. ἐν τῷ ἰσχνῷ 14 βάρει o f 15 στριφ-νύτητι lineola notatur τὸ o f 16 χαρακτηρικὰ πλάσματα P o 17 mg. ἐν τῷ μέσῳ

205, 5 πλάσμασιν P o 9 πλάσμασι o διανειμασα (*sic*) 17 ἀλλ' ὡς] inest ἄλλως P f 18 λεγομεν pr. o 23 ἀρετὴν inest, cf. Sylb. 37 b

206, 4 αὐτὸν, etiam f 5 οὐδ' οἰκείως o f 7 ἀδιαλλάκτους o f 9 δοκεῖ o f 14 ἀηδειαν pr. o 17 ὁμῶς γ' ut vid. pr. o

207, 1 φέρον pr. o 4 αὐτοῖς P o 6 πικρῶς pr. o 7 οὐ τὴν] αὐτὴν o e 8 μὰ δία 10 πῶς οὕτωσὶ γράφων pr. o 14 λάθωσιν o f 15 γοητευθέντες o f

208, 2 ταύτην παρὰ ταύτην κεχώρικε o (cf. P): recte f, de e nihil refert Sylb. 5 τὸν] τῶν 6 ἔχειν εἰπεῖν o f, item v. 5 ἀξιοχρέοις 9 ταύτη susp. Sav. 12 οἳ o f 15 ἐν κόσμῳ o (e) B 19 οὖ P o

209, 1 ὁποῖαν ἂν o corr. 4 εὐσταθῆ o 24 ἀνεπίμικτον o f

210, 1 τε o f παρέχωμαι o f 8 πανταχῆ o 12 μικροσυλ-λάβοις pr. o ἕδραις o 15 ἀπὸ (*sic*) o 17 λήγει 23 μουσικῶν o f

211, 6 ἀντιστηρισμοὺς P o 8 βοβλιται 9 ἐμφύνων (*sic*) o, ἡμιφώνων f 10 ὁπόταν 14 τοῖς om o f 17 κακό-φωνον μηδ' ἀηδεῖς o 20 γνοῦς pr. o χνοῦς o f 21 εἰδόσι o f 25 χαρακτηριστικὰ

212, 1 συντίθενται 5 ἀγεννεῖς o f 7 προσθήκης o f μοίραν ἔχων P o, ἔχον f 9 καλεῖν P o, κηλεῖν f 10 σχημα-τισμοὺς o f 11 ἀξιωματισμοὺς ἀξιωματικοὺς P, pr. o 12 κατ' αὐτην f, ταύτην o 17 ἐπεὶ καὶ pr. o ἐπεὶ exstat 19 συμ-μετρομένας P, pr. o

213, 3 ἀνευπιτοθεμένοις 4 συμβᾶν [B]o 8 τοῦ 10 τὸ] τῷ v. l. in o 11 ἀκατάλληλον P o 12 τὸ] τῷ 14 μὲν] τε μὲν 15 λέξις ὀλιξις pr. o 16 τινας, corr. Sav.

214, 5 ληφθεῖσαι (λειφθεῖσαι P e) 15 καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ ἡ (*sic*) 19 ἐστιν 22 ἀεὶ 24 αὐτὰ ἀξιοῖ ταῦτα

215, 2 *ποία* o corr. *ποιὰ* pr. o 7 *προσπετεῖς* lineola notatur 14 *σῶμα ἢ* om. pr. o, *σῶμα* supra scr. punctis tollitur 17 *λαμβάνει* o

216, 9 *μοιρια* pr. o 13 *ἁρμονικῶν* pr. o e 15 *θεωριάς* P, pr. o 17 *κατωφερὴς* o corr. 18 *αὐτοῖς* supra scr. 22 *δ' εἶν ἀποιήμασιν*

217, 7 *δεῖ διώκειν* 8 *ἂν* o f 15 *σαπφῶ* o corr. f 25 *λέξιν* pr. o

220, 6 *ποητὴς* 13 *δύο* 16 *αὐτῶν δὲ πλάτωνα* pr. o (P e) *καὶ γὰρ*, omisso *καὶ*, P o f 19 *τῆς ἡδείας* 21 *περιθεὶς ὅτε ἐβουλεύετο* o f, aliter P e 24 *τήνδ'*

221, 6 *ἐποιοῦσι* pr. o, *ποιοῦσι* o corr. *τὸ*] *τὶ* 7 *ἐμοὶ* (*sic*) 9 *τούτου* o f 10 *λείψωμαι* (o f) *προτέρων γινομένων* 13 *ἣν* P o *ἧς* f 19 *περσαις* pr. o 22 *τετελεύτηκε* o f 24 *πρὶν* o f *πυρώσω* o f

222, 2 *σάρδεις* o f 6 *δ' ἄτις τε* 7 *ανώρμημαι* (*sic*) 9 *λογιζόμενος εἰς* 11 *τε* P o e 14 *αὐτὰς απασης· ἐγὼ* 17 *ὑμῖν ὃ*] *ὃν* lineola notatur 20 *χαρίζεσθαι* pr. o *χαρίζεσθε* o corr. f 21 *ὑμῖν* o f

223, 1 *ἐν ἡμετέρου* 7 *δὲ* o f 10 *λέξις* pr. o 13 *ἐπειδ' ἂν* 15 *ἐπετήδευσεν* o f 22 *πιστεύειν* suspectum Sav.

224, 3 *διαιρέσεως* o e 5 *κατεσκεύαστο* o e 13 *συμπερι-πυκνωμένας* 20 *ὦ ἀνδ. ἀθ.* item 225, 11

225, 10 et 12 *τρόπους* (*sic*) 11 *ἐν τῷ* desunt 14 *συναλείφθεσθαι* (*sic*) 16 *ταραττειν* (*sic*) *ἐᾶν* fortasse pr. o 20 *συνλλαινεσθαι* 22 *πολὺ*

226, 6 *προτέρας* 12 *πολλαχῆ* 15 *ἐπιβάνλουσι*

227, 1 *αὐτων* (*sic*) 7 *ἐνκόρυφοι* 13 *νῦν θα μὲν* 14 *λυρὰ* o e 17 *ὑποσχηματικοὺς* lineola notatur

228, 4 *δὲ* o f *αὐτὴν* deest 7 *ἢ*] *καὶ* 14 *οὔτε* 17 *παρεχεσθαι* supra scr., *παρασχέσθαι* o 21 *ὅλῳ*] deest *λειπομένης* o e

229, 6 *αὐτοῖς* o f 12 *ἐνεργῶν γιτικῶν* o e (non recte Reiskius) *τῆς*] *τὴν* 13 ut in P 15 *συναρμόζεσθαι* pr. o

230, 1 *μοίραν* o f 3 o cum P consentit sed altero loco *παρακολουθῆσαι* o corr. 17 *τιμιωτατα*, *-την* supra scr.

231, 3 *ἰδιότητας* o f 4 *παραλλὰς* 16 *ἂν ἔπλασεν* P o 21 *τῶν ὑπομνηματισμῶν* P o f 23 *τά γε* 24 *τὸ πρᾶγμα*

232, 2 *τῇ* pr. o 5 *ων* o f 8 *ἐμμέτρου* (*sic*) 17 ut in P

233, 4 ῥυθμοὺς pr. o 9 ἀριστοξενον ἔδοξεν of 11 τότε pr. o 13 μέλη pr. o 21 ἔσθ' ἀνάσχοιτο of 23 δὲ

234, 2 διαφθείρῃ 3 τούτους στοχάσαιτο of 11 σχήμασιν, πρέποντος of 14 θεωρημάτων of ὁλοκαλός, ὁλο lineola notatur 16 τε] τι Po 22 τρυφεροὺς of 23 το, τε μὲν, om. τὸ

235, 2 παρεχων 4 αὐτῶν oe ἐμελλεῖ oe 8 κατεβιβασεν 13 με] deest 18 συγκέκραται supra scr. o

236, 12 πεπραγματεύμεθα of 17 διαγνοίη of ita 237, 21 διαγνοῖεν (διανοῖεν e) 22 πέφυκεν

237, 2 σαφηνείας of o mg. σ(ημείωσαι)

238, 1 Παρρασίου] inest 2 προσκαίρους pr. o 11 ἐμφορὴς Po, ἐμφερὴς f 13 ἀδήλου 21 καλοῦσι

239, 10 οὐχὶ supra scr., οὐδὲ pr. o 13 κάλλος of 18 ποικίλως of 20 οἷος oe

240, 1 μηνύματα of 3 διαγνοίη of 5 οὗτος 6 τρέφειν Po 7 συντιθέμενα oe 12 ὅσην 17 τούτους Poe 21 τόπον inest

241, 2 παρεσκενασμένων of 8 μηκύνειν inest 9 ἐννοηθεὶ ἢ ἂν ἢ] καὶ 10 ἐγένετο inest

242, 3 ὠλιγώρησα 4 καὶ ταῦθα oe διότι punctis infra positis tollitur 6 ἐστὶν 9 ἄσκησις of 10 ἐνεργάσατο 14 αὐτὴ pr. o 19 συμτὰς συλλαβὰς o 22 συστολλὰς pr. o

243, 1 περιλάβωμεν of 2 ἀναγινώσκειν of 3 λέξεως 17 ἐπιλογίσηται of 18 δὲ ἂν 20 τε lineola notatur

244, 1 ανὴρ 4 οὐδὲ om. of 8 οὐχ ὡσαύτως inest, aliter e 9 κηλοῦσιν, καλοῦσιν e 10 καθυποκριναμένοις 12 τοῖς

245, 1 δεῖ of 3 ἢ oe 11 ὥστ' εἰ μήδε πώποτε pr. o 16 πόλεων of

246, 5 διδασκαλεῖον inest 8 καθέστηκεν o, -α- supra scr. 9 δουλεύσωσιν 11 πλησίον abest 12 ἀποκρισιν 19 ἤλιν

247, 2 ἐσπεσμένως 10 διοίσει of 12 ἔχοι pr. o 16 εὐτραπελίας of 17 ἀνθρώποισιν 21 μετέδωκεν pr. o

249, 5 χλευάζει of 19 ἔγραφε 21 αὐτὸ φέρω 25 τῷ

250, 2 ἀπαιτοῦντες 15 βελόντας 21 τινὲς susp. Sav.

251, 12 Μειδίαν inest 13 γινώσκω

252, 5 ἐναργείας 11 δ] deest 14 δὴ τὰ γράφειν] inest 19 'finis[1].'

[1] Palat. mendis caret o:—**132**, 3: 14: **141**, 9: **143**, 4, 11: **144**, 9: **145**, **133**, 4, 10, 12, 13, 14: **135**, 1, 5, 13, 2: **146**, 4, 22: **147**, 20: **148**, 7: **149**, 1,

(*b*) 130, 23 ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνδρες οἳ (pr. o) ἠρμόσαντο: "leg. ἐνηρμόσ- vel ἐφηρ. aut tale quippiam" 17 'sine dubio Λυσίας'

131, 2 τοῦτον supra scr.

132, 3 'videtur deesse ἰδέα, vel. leg. λέξις: sic opinor faciend.' 15 ἔχειν ex conj. 18 'deest verbum, afferam f. θήσω'

133, 3 'f. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ' 4 τοῦτον supra scr.

134, 7 πράττειν del. Sav.

135, 1 'f. ἀγωνισαμένου' 12 'f. εὐέπειαν'

136, 9 'f. ἐναγώνιον'

145, 8 post λέγειν interpunxit Sav.

146, 2 καὶ add. Sav. 18 'f. ἐναλλαγείσης' (ἀναλλαγείσης)

148, 8 satis recte interpunxit Sav.

150, 3 'f. εἰς σκώμματα αὐτοῖς'

157, 3 μᾶλλον 'e. contra. nisi pro μᾶλλον legimus ἧττον in fine sententiae' 15 καὶ del. Sav.

158, 13 'ὥστε abundat'

160, 15 ἔγωγε] 'valde ὑπερβατικῶς ad εἶποιμι'

162, 25 [δη]μηγορ[οῦντας] supra scr.

169, 6 'deest aliquid sine dubio'

170, 5 'f. πλείστων'

172, 2 σκοπὸν suspectum 4 'f. ἐλλειμμάτων' 16 καὶ add.

177, 9 'f. ἐκείνου' 23 ἔχει ex coni.

179, 20 οὐχ ἑδοκίμαζον ex coni.

180, 3 βούλησιν ex coni. 4 τοῦτον ex coni. 7 συμφέροντι τὸ del. Sav. 9 'f. κράτιστος'

181, 13 αὐτῶν pro τῶν ex coni. 14 'deest f. οὐκ' 15 'deest f. ἁπάντων vel etiam plane nihil' 21 'f. τῶν κόσμων'

183, 20 'f. οὐδενὶ'

184, 21 'f. ῥηθέντων'

10: 150, 3: 155, 15, 17: 156, 8, 22: 157, 10, 13, 21: 158, 1, 16, 21: 159, 4, 15, 17, 20: 160, 7, 21: 161, 4, 5, 9, 11, 15, 22: 162, 6, 19, 22: 166, 15 167, 2, 23: 168, 13, 21: 170, 10, 20, 22: 171, 1: 172, 2, 8: 176, 8, 16, 18: 177, 11, 14: 178, 15: 179, 2: 180, 6, 17: 182, 2: 184, 2, 6, 18: 185, 17: 187, 9, 17: 190, 21: 197, 2: 201, 18: 202, 1, 13, 16, 21: 203, 5, 12: 204, 4, 11: 206, 6: 207, 14: 208, 18: 209, 4: 210, 17: 211, 12: 217, 5: 218, 2: 220, 4: 222, 1, 21: 223, 5, 11: 225, 15: 226, 7, 12: 228, 1, 11, 23: 233, 7, 16, 22: 238, 15: 240, 13: 241, 4: 245, 10: 246, 10, 19: 249, 19: 250, 1, 5, 12: 251, 2. Consentiunt P o 136, 6, 10: 141, 12, 18: 144, 3 ὅψις pr. o: 145, 25: 146, 10, 12: 149, 20: 150, 15 ἀνάκειων o: 151, 8: 166, 4: 175, 23: 179, 20: 180, 8: 183, 2/3: 188, 10: 191, 14: 206, 3.

185, 1 'f. μοίρια' 3 'f. ἤδη... ἐχούσης' 13 ὅς, καλλωπίζει ex conj.

186, 3 'f. σχήμασιν'

187, 10 'f. μηνύματα' 11 'f. ἡκούσης', ἡκούσει exstat. 16 'f. ἡκόντων'

189, 24 'f. ἡμῶν'

190, 12 'sine dubio ἆ μέτα'

191, 17 'f. οὐχὶ'

192, 15 'f. διαμιλλησομένοις' 17 'f. σύμφημι' pro συμφωμὶ

197, 3 'f. δεῖ'

200, 19 'f. ᾗ vel ἣν'

202, 9 'f. τὸ'

204, 1—4 'f. τοῦ δημοσθενικοῦ χαρακτῆρος'

205, 12 'f. χρείαν' 15 'deest οὐχ' 19 'deest opinor περὶ τῆς συνθέσεως'

206, 4 'opinor legendum καὶ ζηλοῦντες', et ad mg. 'καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες vel tale quippiam' 'f. ταύτης'

207, 2 'deest f. ἄξιον' 14 'f. ὑπὸ'

208, 15 'f. [ἐν] κοσμίῳ' 19 'sine dubio εὖ' 24 'f. ἔτι' 'sine dubio πρὸς οὓς ἄν'

210, 6 'f. παραλαμβανομένων' 12 'f. ἐναπλασίως' prodigiosa conj. pro εἶναι πλουσίως 18 εἶναι susp. Sav.

211, 7 'f. τραχύτητας' 8 'f. βούλεται' 9 'f. ἡμιφώνων' 17 'f. κακοφωνοι'

212, 9 'f. κηλοῦν' (*sic*) 19 'f. συμμετρουμένας'

213, 3 'f. ἀνεπιτηδευμένοις' 8 'f. τὸ' 10 'f. μεταπίπτειν' 12 'f. τὸ' 16 χωρὶς lineola tollitur μὴ τὰ ex conj. τίνας corr.

214, 2 'deest aliquod verbum' 23 'f. ἐμμέλειαν' (ἐκμ- o)

215, 15 συγκεῖσθαι <συγκεῖσθαι δὲ> conj. Sav. 17 f. 'λαμβάνειν'

216, 11 τούτῳ supra scr. 21 'deest δὲ post ἔτι' 22 'f. ποιεῖν ποιήματα vel tale quippiam'

217, 3 recte interpunxit Sav. 9 'f. [προβαίν]ειν'

222, 3 'f. ἅμα' 5 ἀποβάντες supra scr.

225, 10 et 12 τόπους ex coni. 20 'f. συναλείφεσθαι'

227, 7 'f. εὖ[κόρυφοι]' 13 'f. ἔνθα μὲν' 15 ἀρχαῖα susp. Sav.

228, 6 'deest αὐτὴν ut opinor' 11 'f. σχολὰς' 21 'f. λειπομένους'

229, 12 'f. εὐεργετῶν' τῆς ex coniectura

230, 4 'f. διηγήσεις' 'f. ἀκούοντα' 8 'vel λέγεται vel λέγεσθαι δεῖ'

231, 3 παρὰ ex conj. 4 'f. παραλλαγὰς' 16 'f. ἀνέπλασεν'

232, 7 'f. οἶδεν' 8 τοῦ μέτρου ex coni.

233, 10 'f. κατεσκευάσθη' 22 'f. δὴ'

234, 3 'f. τούτου'

235, 2 παρέχον ex coni. 3 'f. ῥοπὴν' 'f. πλείονος vel πλεῖον' 4 'f. τά τε μέλη μεγαλοπρεπῆ vel ἐμμελείας' 'ἐμμελείας sine dubio'

237, 22 'f. [ὅτι] μὴ'

238, 1 ἐμφερὴς ex coni. 13 'f. ἀδήλους' 20 οἷος, 'f. ὅς'

240, 2 'f. χαρακτηριστικὰ' 5 'f. οὕτως' 6 'f. ὅτ' ἔγραφε', 'f. τρέπειν' 12 ὅσης ex coni.

241, 9 'f. ἐννοηθείη ἄν' 18 'videtur aliquid deesse' sc. in vulgata lectione

242, 3 'f. ὠλιγώρησε' (-σα exstat) 4 'f. καὶ ταῦτα' διότι susp. Sav. 6 'f. ἔτι'

243, 8 et 12 νοήσει fortasse ex coni. 18 'f. δ' ἐὰν'

244, 18 'f. ὡς'

245, 3 'f. ὅν' 6 'f. σαφὲς'

247, 2 ἐσπευσμένως ex coni.

248, 9 'f. εἶτα'

249, 21 'credo αὐτοφώρῳ'

250, 2 'deest aliquid', ἁπαντοῦντες 17 corr. Sav. ex Aesch.

251, 5 'f. δηλοῦται' 6 τὰ] 'f. τῇ' 8 δὲ] 'f. δήπου' 13 'f. γινώσκων' 14 δῆτα] 'f. τάδε'

3 περὶ Δεινάρχου.

(*a*) 297, 6 τὸν ὑπεριδη, -η lineola notatur 9 οὔτε εὐκαταφρονήτους

298, 2 δῆμ° (*sic*) 5 τὶ pr. o 8 δὲ ἐνετύχομεν 10 συναγηοχεν 16 ὑπερείδου, -ει- lineola notatur

299, 13 εἶπε, post τῶν lac. xi fere litt. 14 ἐγὼ deest 17 καθ' ὃν 19 εὐφυὴς

300, 1 διετέλευσεν 7 ἀθηναιοις 13 πεντεκαιδεκαετῆ 15 συγχωρησαντος 17 ἀθῆνας 19 γηραιος ὢν 24 τοῦ

301, 2 δὲ] δ' 6 τὴν deest ἄγρῳ 16 ἑξῆς 25 ἑάλω

302, 12 ἐρκίου 20 τῇ καθεστώσῃ

303, 6 λογισμῶν 14 πέμπτου 15 τὸν 20 ἀπ' ἀναξικράτους pr. o 21 ψεύδεσιν

304, 9 ἐκθέσθαι, supra scr. θεωρεῖν (pr. o -οῦν) 13 γενναιότερον 18 δύναιτ' 20 μεμένηκεν 24 τούτῳ

305, 5 ὁμοείδεια pr. o 6 τοῦ λόγου pr. o 8 ὁμολογούμενός ἐστιν, -ος lineola subducta : supra scr. -ον 9 σαφηνείαν

306, 7 ἔχοντες inest, -ε- in lit. 13 χαριεν 21 ἐν δε ἑτέρως 24 αὐτὸν, supra scr. -τὸ

307, 9 φυσικὸς τέ ἐστι 22 μιμεῖσθαι, deletis μ[ε]μ

309, 2 ἀφόδοις 16 πρόσεστι pr. o, πρόσεσται extat 17 ψεύδεσι τοῦ τ' ἐλέγχου o corr. 23 οἱ δὲ

310, 16, 17 φερεκλῆς, νικοκλῆς 20 καθόδος

311, 2 δοκιμασίαν 11 εὐθύναι 12 δεινίου 15, 17, 18 ω (21 ω) 15 ἁπάντων pr. o, ἅπαντι (-τι supra scr.) συμβήσεσθαι· ἔτι κτλ. 17 ἴσως καθ' ἱμερίου

312, 1 κατὰ στεφάνου· ἴασαν νόμων ὑπάρχει 4 ὧ inest 5 ιεροσυνης 11 ἁρπαλίων 14 ἦν] οὖν 18 δημόσιοι ψευδεπίγραφοι o corr. 22 ἀννόντα (*sic*)

313, 7 ἀρχείου 12 ἐξῆς 14 ἀπαγωγῆς 19 ὀνόματος δεδηλώκαμεν lineola subducta

314, 2 ἕως ἔτη 5 ἀθμονεύσι 13 ιεροφαντη 14 πολλῶν τε 15 ἐργαποιεῖς ante κατὰ Τιμοκρ. εἰσαγγελτικὸς

315, 1 εὐδανέμων 2 ὑπερ τοῦ...πράγματα oratori tribuit o 12 εἰκὸς 14 ἀγωνίζεσθαι οὐδ' αὐτὸς...οἷόν τε ἐστὶ suspecta Savilio 20 λόγον 24 περϊιδεῖν

316, 4 ἄν τις αὐτὸν 8 καὶ post ὑμᾶς Dionysio tribuit o, ὑμᾶς pr. o 16 ἁρπάλου

317, 2 μέρου lineola subducta 2/3 παρὰ νόμῳ 7 ὧν inest 10 αὐτοῦ 19 ἡδύκης

318, 1 ὧν 4 κακώσθως punctis infra positis 5 θαυμάζῃ 6 ἔτιηπου pr. o, ἔτι ηπου exstat 7 δικαίαν 9 ἔτι γεγράφθαι : omnia usque ab ὑβριστὴς oratori tribuit o.

319, 6 ἀρχεφῶτος 16 οὖ] ὃν

320, 4 εἰς susp. Sav. 14 ὧν] o corr. 21 μετάλλων

321, 1 λέγων· ἐπ' εὐβούλου 8 μεγακλείδη 10 δ' ἐπιστῶν 13 εὐθυνὰς ὑποσχὼν ἑάλω 15 'desunt reliqua'.

(*b*) 298, 2 'f. Demetrius qui a Laertio tam saepe nominatur'

300, 1 'f. διετέλεσεν' 2 'f. λόγους'

302, 7 τῆς ὀγδόης 'deest f. ἐπὶ' 8 'f. τούτου'

303, 4 'f. αὐτὸν' 6 'f. λογισμῷ' 9 'f. τῷ' 15 'f. τῶν'

305, 1 'f. λόγους' 7 'f. αὐτῷ' 8 δε 'f. τε' 13 'f. τόπον'

306, 1 οὔτινος susp. Sav. 2 'forte est dubitativum: num hoc modo? sc. αὐτὸν γνωσόμεθα, multum enim interest inter ἀρχέτυπον et id quod est ab eo imitatione expressum, ut inter Isocratem et ipsius discipulos; sed verba quaedam sunt corrigenda' 5 'f. μαθητῶν' 6 καὶ 'videtur aliter legendum: nam si ex hypothesi sunt, quid opus est διαγνώσει?' 21 ἐν δε ἑτέρως, 'ἐν δὲ puto abundare'

307, 7 'f. δεινάρχου vel δειναρχείοις'

308, 10 'ad marginem διδάσκαλος οὗτος κικέρωνος τοῦ ῥωμαίου. sed nae ille τὸ αὐχμηρὸν magistri sui egregie detersit' 12 'sine dubio οἱ περὶ' 13 Πλάτωνα susp. Sav.

309, 2 'f. ἐφόδοις 25 citat Sav. Ar. Meteor. 'infra θέλλος'

310, 1 'infra θεόφιλος et θουμήδης' 'infra ἀρχείας' 2 'infra εὔβουλος' Νικόμαχος: citat Ar. Meteor. 1 4 'infra p. πυθόδοτος' 5 'f. λόγους συγγράφειν (-ψαι) vel tale aliquid 13 'f. ἀναξικράτης'

311, 21 'f. ὦ ἄνδρες'

312, 14 'f. ἁρπάλου' 20 'f. ἐστὶ' 21 'f. θεομνήτου ἢ' 22 'f. μετὰ θεσσαλὸν ἄρχοντα'

313, 1 'sine dubio legendum οὔπω πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον' 9 'f. αὐτοῦ νικόδικον' 10 'f. τουτουὶ'

314, 10 'deest f. πρὸ' 12 'f. οἶδε'

315, 10 'f. τῶν αἰτωλῶν' 14 'f. συναγων-' 20 'f. λόγου'

316, 16 'f. ἐκδοῦναι'

317, 2 'f. παρανόμῳ'

318, 1 'f. ὤν'

319, 3 correxit Savilius ante Reiskium 16 ον 'f. οὖ'

320, 8 'f. ταυτὰ' 9 'f. τῆς τοῦ'

321, 10 'f. ἐστὶ τῶν'

4 περὶ Θουκυδίδου.

(*a*) 327, 8 μόνον pr. o 25 συνήθη o corr. (-ῆ pr. o)

328, 16 ἀποτυχοῦσα

329, 1 περὶ τὴν ἰδέαν 15 μέν τι] μὲν τὰ pr. o, μέν τε corr.

330, 15 προικονησιος (*sic*) 18 Ἀμελησαγόρας

331, 20 item 330, 19 πελοποννησιακῶν 22 ἑνὸς] τινος pr. o 24 εἰς] pr. o

334, 7 ἀτερπότερον 10 ἀεὶ 20 βίβλῳ (-ι- hic et ubique)

335, 14 ἐλλειπεστερον pr. o 19 τὴν τάξιν 23 οὐδετέρας
336, 11 χειμερίαις, -οις supra scr. 12 ἔκτε pr. o 21 πρὶν] πλὴν pr. o
338, 5 ἔχρην 9 δόξει
339, 5 γινομένους pr. o 6 εἰς 8 κατέθησαν
340, 8 μεταξὺ abest 11 ἐγένοντο, -νετο supra scr. m. rec.
341, 2 ἦν] ἦν 20 συγγραφῇ et similia o 23 ἦν] om.
342, 3 εἴκοσιν 12 ἀπὸ om. 14 ξυνβὰν pr. o 20 εἰς
343, 2 τὰ] om. 7 ἦ] inest 13 εἴκοσιν 15 διέφθειρον ἃς δ'
344, 1 διέφθειρον εἰς ἐστὶ] inest 3 παρὰ 20 quo ordine f, sed περὶ abest
348, 13 τούτῳ deest
349, 3 δ'] ita o 12 διὰ λόγου pr. o
350, 17 ἐχρῆν
351, 3 τινὰς inest 4 εἰς 9 μέχρις 10 πολιτῶν pr. o
354, 16 οἰκήσαντες, χαλκηδονίους
355, 10 ὧν] ὡς supra scr.
356, 1 ἀκρίβειαν add. m² 2 διαμνημονεῦσαι add. m² ὧν] ὧν lineola notatur 9 ὡς add. m² οἷς γε 12 εὔνοιαν pr. o 18 εἰς ἀεὶ 21 καὶ πεζομαχίαιν ταχεῖαν add. m²
357, 10 τὰς et 11 μνημονευομένας pr. o 15 ξυνετίθετο 18 πρόγραψα
359, 12 αἱ om. 20 ἐν] τε lineola notatur
360, 8 καλλιρρημοσύνην (*sic*) 15 ὑπερεβαλλετο 25 τε om.
361, 17 κατέλιπε
362, 4 ἐγκατηγορῶν 21 δυσέλικτα
363, 1 παρωνομασίας 4 χαρακτικωτατα, -κτικ- lineola notatur 20 οὐ] μὴ 21 ἐπαγγελίας pr. o
364, 6 αὐταῖς, -αῖς lineola subducta 11 τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ 24 εἰς
365, 1 ἕκαστος pr. o item v. 5 3 ἐμπειρίας 5 περιουσίας, -αν supra scr. 6 τὴν γῆν φυτεύοντες 7 δουλώμενοι pr. o 8 οὖν αὐτῶν 9 ἦν δὲ ἡ 10 κοινωτερον
366, 10 ἐσχάτην τὴν 15 τὸ (*sic*)
374, 11 ἐπὶ πύστει 12 εἰς
375, 2 ἐγχειρησεων pr. o 9 φιλαιτερος pr. o 16 δὲ] γὰρ 22 ἀσφαλεία ἀσφάλεια pr. o ἀσφαλεία susp. Sav.
376, 2 δέ τι pr. o 3 τε pr. o, δὲ supra scr. 13 προσεπινοοῦντες
377, 9 ὁ] inest 16 πλεονεξια

378, 9 δεδομενοι
379, 1 *φασὶν* lineola notatur 18 δὲ
381, 15 ἔχοι 17 *μὲν ἐν*] ἐν
382, 3 δὲ 7 ὁποσοι (*sic*)
383, 3—5 insunt 6 τεχνικὰς 15 ταυτα
388, 7 εἰς 8 *μὲν δὴ* 11 δὴ lineola subducta 19 δὲ 21 *ξυνεχεῖ* supra scr. ξυνεχει pr. o
389, 4 σύνεδροι 13 ἐξενηνεγμενα (*sic*) 17 ἀντωνυμίαν, 'ἀντωνομασίαν false'
391, 2 οἴεσθε 18 ἔχει 22 ἦν 26 καὶ] deest
392, 15 σκολίως 19 εὐνοία
393, 18 τοῖς] deest 20 μηδὲν 24 καὶ] ς′ supra scr.
394, 5 δὲ εἰς 10 δὲ
395, 4 ἐπιτίθησι 11 μετέσχηκεν 17 δεῖ
396, 18 ταυτα 25 *βεβιασμένον* supra scr. m²
397, 12 τὸν] τῶν 13 ὑπὲρ supra scr.
398, 18 διέθετο pr. o
399, 15 ἀπολογουμενα 21 λαοῦ pr. o
400, 2 δεινῶν 4 ὀρθουμενεῖν 9 τυχούσῃ 19 ὀργάζεσθαι -ι- supra scr.
401, 14 οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις, εἰς supra scr.
402, 7 καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι 9 δηλῷ 12 et 19 σύνεσις 13 ἧσον 20 ἡρακλειτείων inest
406, 14 ἄν] deest
408, 12 εἰσφοράς 14 οὔτε ἐν 21 δηλούμενοί
411, 1 ἀνὴρ o, sed ἀ- lineola notatur 24 τε] deest
412, 7 μάλιστα] deest
413, 24 παρασκευάσθαι pr. o
416, 1 δ' ἄν pr. o
417, 6 ἕκαστοι 13 ἱκανοῖς 14 βεβαιοῦν pr. o 18 γεγενῆσθαι] εἶναι pr. o
418, 17 δὲ οὐχ

(*b*) 327, 1 'f. ἐπιτιμήσοντας' 21 'f. πολιτικῆς' (πολιτ. (*sic*) o)
334, 15 'f. ἱέρειαν'
339, 8 'f. κατέστησαν' 20 'f. ἔτι'
341, 21 'f. ἐπεμνησθησαν'
343, 12 'qui il testo greco é mutilato'
345, 7 'f. ἀπαγόμενός'
349, 6 'f. παραλειφθέντα' 9 'f. αὐτὸν' 12 'f. [διὰ] διαλόγων'

352, 7 'f. legendum περιπόλους, i.e. ζητητὰς φύλακας che eravan banda di cavalli in Athene che facevano seguro il territorio'

357, 23 'f. μέλλω vel absol. nom.'

360, 17 'sententia est imperfecta'

365, 3 'f. ἐμπορίας' 6 'desunt multa'

374, 1 'D. ἐστασιάζετο'

376, 7 'ὑπονοήσας D' 13 'προεπινοοῦντες D'

379, 9 'καλεεῖ f. οι'

382, 23 'f. τούτους οὖν'

391, 19 'ἐν abundat vel unum est verbum ἐνεξουσίᾳ'

395, 14 αὐτοῦ item 398, 18 17 δὴ ex conj.

397, 8 'D. suppl. εἰώθασιν· opinor deesse verbum,' αὐτῶν

410, 3 'f. sunt superflua illa duo (ἡ διάλεκτος) vel τῆς διαλέκτου vel deest καὶ post χρήσιμος'

411, 21 's. facere, deest enim opinor'

417, 10 'f. τὸν'

The following autograph letter of S. Slade, Fellow of Merton, to Sir Henry Savile, describing a vain attempt to make a catalogue of the Greek MSS in the Vatican, is contained in a Bodleian MS (Auct. F infra. 1. 13, fol. 69).

Μέχρι τούτου ἀπογραψαμένῳ μοι (Κύριε σεμνοπρεπέστατε) τὸν παρόντα κατάλογον, τὸ ἔργον ὅλως ἀπέκοψεν ἡ αἰτία τοιαύτη. Ἡρούαρδος ὁ Καγκελλάριος καὶ Γέβαλδος ὁ Χαρτοφύλαξ ἐπικαλούμενοι, οἳ καὶ τὴν τῆς βιβλιοθήκης ἐπιμέλειάν εἰσιν ἐγκεχειρισμένοι, οὐκ ἐπέτρεψαν ἐμοὶ ἔξω αὐτῆς οὐδὲ βιβλίον ἓν ἐκφορεῖν· ὅθεν ἐντὸς ἐκείνης μόνον ἠναγκαζόμην ἐργάζεσθαι· ὃ καὶ ἕνα ὅλον μῆνα μὲν ἐποίησα· τότε δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ βραχύ τι προέκοψα διὰ τὴν τοῦ φύλακος ἀνεπιείκειαν, ὃς μικροῦ ἐδέησε τοσαυτάκις ἀπεῖναι ὁσάκις παρεγένετο, ἠξίωκα τοὺς προειρημένους προστάτας, ἵνα μοι ἐξῇ τοῦτον τὸν κατάλογον τοὐλάχιστον ἐξενεγκόντι, ἐν τῷ καταλύματί μου μεταγράφειν· ᾧπερ ἐκεῖνοι συνεπένευσαν μηδὲν ἐναντιούμενοι· γνοὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ θυρωρὸς ἐκεῖνος, καὶ βασκαίνων ἐμοὶ (ὡς εἰκός) ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ ἐδωρησάμην, τοὺς συγχωρήσαντας πάλιν νικᾷ καὶ μεταπείθει· ὥστε διακωλύουσιν εὐθέως τὴν τῆς βίβλου ἐκκομιδὴν, παλινῳδίαν ᾄδοντες. Διὰ τοῦτο δικαίως (ὡς ᾤμην) παροξυνθεὶς, καὶ εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐν τέσσαρσιν ἑβδομάσιν οὐχ οἷός τ' ἂν εἴην περαίνειν τὴν ἀπογραφὴν, μᾶλλον οὐδ' ἐντὸς δύο μηνῶν, εἰ βάνανσος ἐκεῖνος οὐ βούλοιτο, καὶ μάλα μὲν ἐλπίσας παρὰ Ἐσχελίου ποτὲ τοῦ καταλόγου τούτου ἐπιτυχεῖν, ὅλως ὧν ἠρξάμην ἀποστὰς, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὅτι τάχιστα ἀπηλλάγην. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο

τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἕτερα ἐπιτελεῖν οὐ προειλόμην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα ἐπεθύμησα, καί σοι γνωρίζειν (ὦ δαιμόνιε) τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον πράξεις μου μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος, μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ στίχοι Σαπφικοὶ οἱ κάτω ἑπόμενοι· οὓς πρὸ τῆς ἀφίξεως εἰς Μονάχιον ἔτι ὢν ἐν Αὐγούστῃ, συνήρμοσα μὲν πρός σε, οὐκ ἀπέστειλα δὲ, τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λεγομένων ἀποτυχὼν διὰ τὴν ἣν εἶπον αἰτίαν.

Χαῖρε τᾶν Μωσᾶν μέγα κῦδος ὦνερ,
Γνώσεως παγά τ' ἀρετᾶς ἁπάσας,
Ὅς μὲς ἐς τιμὰν Τριάδος μενοινᾷς
Βιβλία τεύχειν.

Πρᾶτον εἰς Ἄνναν λόγον ἐξέγραψα'
Εἶτα πεντάκονθ' ἑκατόν τε Δέλτον,
Τῶ περὶ χρυσᾶ βιοτᾶς λαλεῦντος
Τμάματ' ἔχοισαν.

Οἷς Ἔλεγχος τῶ βατικανῶ ὄλβω
Εἷς ὀπαδεῖ· νῦν βαδιῶ τάχιστα,
Ἴστρῳ ἐγγίσδον ποταμῷ, Βιέννας
Ἐς πτολίεθρον. Σ. Σ.

PLATONICA.

i *Theaetetus* 169 A—D.

ΘΕΟ. Οὐ ῥᾴδιον, ὦ Σώκρατες, σοὶ παρακαθήμενον μὴ διδόναι λόγον, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἄρτι παρελήρησα φάσκων σε ἐπιτρέψειν μοι μὴ ἀποδύεσθαι, καὶ οὐχὶ ἀναγκάσειν καθάπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς πρὸς τὸν Σκίρωνα μᾶλλον τείνειν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπιέναι ἢ ἀποδύεσθαι κελεύουσι, σὺ δὲ κατ' Ἀνταῖόν τί μοι μᾶλλον δοκεῖς τὸ δρᾶμα δρᾶν· τὸν γὰρ προσελθόντα οὐκ ἀνίης πρὶν <ἂν> ἀναγκάσῃς ἀποδύσας ἐν τοῖς λόγοις προσπαλαῖσαι.

ΣΩ. Ἄριστά γε, ὦ Θεόδωρε, τὴν νόσον μου ἀπῄκασας· ἰσχυρικώτερος μέντοι ἐγὼ ἐκείνων. μυρίοι γὰρ ἤδη μοι Ἡρακλέες τε καὶ Θησέες ἐντυχόντες καρτεροὶ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μάλ' εὖ συγκεκόφασιν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἀφίσταμαι· οὕτω τις δεινὸς ἔρως ἐνδέδυκε τῆς περὶ ταῦτα γυμνασίας. μὴ οὖν μηδὲ σὺ φθονήσῃς προσανατριψάμενος σαυτόν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐμὲ ὀνῆσαι.

ΘΕΟ. Οὐδὲν ἔτι ἀντιλέγω, ἀλλ' ἄγε ὅπῃ ἐθέλεις· πάντως τὴν περὶ ταῦτα εἱμαρμένην ἣν ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς δεῖ ἀνατλῆναι ἐλεγχόμενον. οὐ μέντοι περαιτέρω γε ὧν προτίθεσαι οἷός τ' ἔσομαι παρασχεῖν ἐμαυτόν σοι.

ΣΩ. Ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ καὶ μέχρι τούτων. καί μοι πάνυ τήρει τὸ τοιόνδε, μή που παιδικόν τι λάθωμεν εἶδος τῶν λόγων ποιούμενοι, καί τις πάλιν ἡμῖν αὐτὸ ὀνειδίσῃ.

On the first of the four paragraphs which I have extracted, H. Schmidt, in his *Kritischer Commentar zu Platos Theätet* Leipzig 1877 (*Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplementband ix) p. 488, comments as follows:

"125) S. 169 B: *κατ' Ἀνταῖον*] Der Wechsel der Beispiele ist an sich zwar, wie Campbell zu 147 A zeigt, etwas bei Plato sehr Gewöhnliches und würde überdies hier, wenn er in einem andern Zusammenhange vorkäme, seine Erklärung darin finden, 'dass Theodorus, wie es bei Schleiermacher heisst, dem Sokrates erst die absolute Gewaltthätigkeit scherzend vorwirft—wie denn Skiron keinen Reisenden vorbeiliess, sondern alle ins Meer warf—hernach aber dies mildernd näher bestimmt, da ja Antäus es wenigstens noch auf einen Kampf ankommen liess'; so aber, wie die Worte hier stehen, tragen sie doch in so hohem Grade den Charakter der Gesprächsnachlässigkeit, und, wie Schleiermacher sagt, der Verwirrung an sich, dass man sie mit gutem Gewissen nicht als von Plato herrührend anerkennen kann. Man erwartet, wenn kein tieferes Verderbniss zu Grunde liegt, *κατ' ἐκεῖνον* statt *κατ' Ἀνταῖον*."

Apparently Schmidt recognizes that his note does not dispose of the difficulty of the passage. When Campbell paraphrases—"The Lacedaemonians tell one to strip or go away. But you, like Sciron, strip all you meet with, and, like Antaeus, force them to wrestle with you," he evades it: for, whereas in the original the reference to Antaeus purports to be explanatory of the reference to Sciron, this paraphrase distinguishes between them and places them side by side. If, as Schleiermacher suggests, the reference to Sciron is so far exaggerated and inappropriate that it needs to be softened and amended by the reference to Antaeus, it is obvious to ask—Why then was the reference to Sciron introduced? Schmidt's faint-hearted proposal to substitute *κατ' ἐκεῖνον* for *κατ' Ἀνταῖον* would seem to be inadmissible: for, when Socrates in his reply affirms that he is *ἰσχυρικώτερος ἐκείνων*, the plural pronoun guarantees the double reference. For the same reason we must not think of bracketing, either *σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς πρὸς τὸν Σκίρωνα μᾶλλον τείνειν*, or *σὺ δὲ κατ' Ἀνταῖόν τί μοι μᾶλλον δοκεῖς τὸ δρᾶμα δρᾶν*.

It may be worth while then to attempt another explanation. At 162 B Socrates has asked Theodorus whether, if he were to visit a Spartan palaestra, he would expect to escape stripping and entering the ring. Theodorus replies that possibly he

might persuade the wrestlers to allow him to remain as a looker-on, and he hopes that Socrates will be no less indulgent. In the passage before us Theodorus admits that he had been wrong in looking for indulgence from Socrates: seemingly, he is disposed to take a stricter line than Lacedaemonians would do. For, whereas they say, 'if you do not wrestle, you must go,' he refuses the option of leaving the palaestra. Thus stated, the argument is quite intelligible. It is the double reference at once to Sciron and to Antaeus, or more exactly, the apparently superfluous reference to Sciron, which creates the difficulty. For, whereas according to the legend Antaeus required all comers to wrestle with him, so that the reference to him is plainly apposite, this trait does not appear in the legend of Sciron. The question is then—Why is a plainly apposite reference to Antaeus introduced by means of an apparently superfluous reference to Sciron?

I suspect that Euripides in his satyric drama called *Sciron* made one of his characters, presumably Theseus, arguing with Sciron, compare him to Antaeus, and that the passage contained something such as—

σὺ δὲ κατ' Ἀνταῖόν τί μοι
μᾶλλον δοκεῖς δρᾶν.
τὸν γὰρ προσελθόντ' οὐ <παρεξελθεῖν ἐᾷς>
πρὶν προσπαλαῖσαι τὰν χεροῖν ἀναγκάσῃς.

Theodorus would then mean: "It was foolish of me to hope that you would excuse me, and not require me to strip as the Lacedaemonians do. Indeed I think that you take after Sciron in the play: for, whereas the Lacedaemonians say 'Strip or go,' your procedure is, as Theseus says Sciron's was, like Antaeus'; you don't permit the stranger to go on his way until you have compelled him to an argument." In short, Sciron is introduced for the sake of the quotation, which exactly expresses the resemblance between Socrates and Antaeus.

This conjecture seems to me to find support in the context.

First, some forty years ago Richard Shilleto suggested to me that the omission of ἄν with πρὶν ἀναγκάσῃς was explicable on the hypothesis that we have here an echo of tragedy.

Secondly, in Theodorus' next utterance the words *τὴν περὶ ταῦτα εἱμαρμένην ἣν ἂν σὺ ἐπικλώσῃς δεῖ ἀνατλῆναι ἐλεγχόμενον* look as if they had an original in something such as

> *εἱμαρμένην γὰρ ἣν ἂν ἐπικλώσῃς σύ μοι*
> *χρεὼν ἀνατλῆναί με.*

Thirdly, Socrates in his reply introduces a complete iambic line, and, with insignificant alterations, the text provides two others:

> *τήρει δέ μοι τοιόνδε, μή τι παιδικὸν*
> *λάθωμεν εἶδος τῶν λόγων ποιούμενοι*
> *καί τις <σοφιστὴς> ἡμὶν αὖτ' ὀνειδίσῃ.*

It is, I think, conceivable that many references to the drama still lurk in the poetical prose of Plato. When Socrates says in the *Phaedo*, 115 A, *ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ, φαίη ἂν ἀνὴρ τραγικός, ἡ εἱμαρμένη*, I fancy that we have not merely tragic diction with an apology for its use in conversation, but an echo of some such line as

> *εἱμαρμένη γὰρ ἐμέ γε νῦν ἤδη καλεῖ.*

Again, in the *sophist*, 217 B, Socrates says *Μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ξένε, ἡμῶν τήν γε πρώτην αἰτησάντων χάριν ἀπαρνηθεὶς γένῃ, τοσόνδε δ' ἡμῖν φράζε· πότερον εἴωθας ἥδιον αὐτὸς ἐπὶ σαυτοῦ μακρῷ λόγῳ διεξιέναι κτλ.* "The use of the auxiliary verb," says Campbell, "is a feature of Plato's later style: and is one of the points in which that style approximates to the language of tragedy." Here too we have, I think, not so much an imitation of tragic style as rather a quotation from tragedy. For surely it is no mere coincidence that, when the words *τοίνυν, ὦ ξένε, ἡμῶν*, and *αἰτησάντων*, are omitted, what remains is

> *μὴ τήν γε πρώτην χάριν ἀπαρνηθεὶς γένῃ,*
> *τοσόνδε δ' ἡμῖν φράζε.*

And in the same way I imagine that *Philebus* 16 C, *Θεῶν μὲν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις, ὥς γε καταφαίνεται ἐμοί, ποθὲν ἐκ*

θεῶν ἐρρίφη διά τινος Προμηθέως ἅμα φανοτάτῳ τινὶ πυρί, has for its original something such as

θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπους τις ἐρρίφη δόσις
διαὶ Προμηθέως θεόθεν ἅμα φανῷ πυρί.

It will be observed that *ποθέν*, *τινός*, and *τινί*, *prove* that Plato's original had phrases corresponding to *ἐκ θεῶν*, *διὰ Προμηθέως*, and *ἅμα φανοτάτῳ πυρί*. With *θεῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπους δόσις*, compare *Nicomachean ethics* A 9 § 2. 1099 b 11 *εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλο τί ἐστιν θεῶν δώρημα ἀνθρώποις, εὔλογον καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν θεόσδοτον εἶναι*. That 'the gods' gift to men' was *τέχνη*, appears from *Protagoras* 321 C *ἀπορίᾳ οὖν ἐχόμενος ὁ Προμηθεύς, ἥντινα σωτηρίαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ εὕροι, κλέπτει Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί—ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ πυρὸς αὐτὴν κτητήν τῳ ἢ χρησίμην γενέσθαι—καὶ οὕτω δὴ δωρεῖται ἀνθρώπῳ*[1].

ii *politicus* 291 A and 303 C.

At 287 B of the *politicus*, the king having been previously distinguished from the guardians of herds other than the human herd, it remains to distinguish his art from certain rival arts which are found in, and concerned with, the city itself (compare 279 A). Accordingly the Eleate summarily dismisses, first, artisans of different sorts, husbandmen, hunters, gymnasts, physicians, cooks; next, servants, slaves, traders, shipmen, and merchants: then, heralds and clerks. The pretensions of all these are, he thinks, plainly inconsiderable. But when diviners and priests make their appearance, it is observed that a priest who, like the king archon at Athens, together with his sacred office enjoys civic authority also, is able to make out a *prima facie* case. These priest-kings elected by lot, and their subordinates, must be considered, as well as a huge mob (*πάμπολυς ὄχλος*) which now for the first time comes into view. They are a motley crew.

[1] That in *Philebus* 16 C "Plato had some poetical passage in his mind which he has adapted to his own mythus", was suggested by Badham.

Many of them resemble lions, centaurs, and other such creatures: very many are like satyrs and inferior animals, weak and cunning. They are liable to rapid changes in form and function. (*Παμφυλόν τι γένος αὐτῶν, ὥς γε ἄρτι σκοπουμένῳ φαίνεται. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ λέουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἴξασι καὶ Κενταύροις καὶ τοιούτοισιν ἑτέροις, πάμπολλοι δὲ Σατύροις καὶ τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ πολυτρόποις θηρίοις· ταχὺ δὲ μεταλλάττουσι τάς τε ἰδέας καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς ἀλλήλους.*) They are, continues the Stranger, as I now see, those who administer the affairs of cities (*τὸν περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα χορόν*). Whom do you mean? asks Socrates junior. I mean, replies the Stranger, the veriest cheat in the whole sophistical world, the sophist of sophists (*τὸν πάντων τῶν σοφιστῶν μέγιστον γόητα καὶ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης ἐμπειρότατον*). Difficult as the task is, we must separate these people from those who really possess state-craft or king-craft. Hereupon Socrates junior remarks that the inquiry must not be allowed to drop. The Eleate assents, and without any explanation of the *πάμπολυς ὄχλος* and the centaurs and the satyrs, proceeds to enumerate forms of government, distinguishing them from the true or perfect polity and placing them in order of merit. This done, at 303 B he concludes that the members of these polities, the scientific polity alone excepted, must be rejected: they are not statesmen, but party men, ministers of phantom polities, and therefore phantoms themselves, the rankest of imitators and cheats, and therefore the rankest of sophists (*εἰδώλων μεγίστων προστάτας ὄντας καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι τοιούτους, μεγίστους δὲ ὄντας μιμητὰς καὶ γόητας μεγίστους γίγνεσθαι τῶν σοφιστῶν σοφιστάς*). And now, says the Eleate, the play approaches its dénouement. A little while ago it was remarked that a rout of centaurs and satyrs was in view which must be excluded from possession of the art of state-craft: we have had hard work to exclude them, but we have done it at last. (*Εἶεν· τοῦτο μὲν ἀτεχνῶς ἡμῖν ὥσπερ δρᾶμα, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν δὴ Κενταυρικὸν ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ Σατυρικόν τινα θίασον, ὃν δὴ χωριστέον ἀπὸ πολιτικῆς εἴη τέχνης· νῦν δ' οὕτω πάνυ μόγις ἐχωρίσθη.*)

Thus the *πάμφυλον γένος* of 291 A includes *τὸν περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα χορόν* 291 B, *τοὺς κοινωνοὺς τούτων τῶν πολιτειῶν πασῶν πλὴν τῆς ἐπιστήμονος* 303 B, *τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λεγομένους* 303 C; in fact, persons commonly accounted politicians, who are notwithstanding, in the judgment of the Eleate, not statesmen, but party men and impostors. But why are some of these people likened to centaurs, lions, satyrs, and beasts weak and cunning?

I am not aware that this question is raised by any of the commentators except Grote, who frankly observes, *Plato* ii 482, "This is not very intelligible, but I presume that it alludes to the variety of functions, and the frequent alternation of functions." Plainly this is not, and does not claim to be, a complete and satisfactory explanation. To provide something more definite is my purpose in this note.

In the first place, it is notorious that in this part of the dialogue there are unmistakeable echoes of the *republic*, and that, in particular, the Socratic parable of the pilot and the crew (*republic* vi 488 A ff, compare Xenophon *memorabilia* III ix § 11) is distinctly referred to at 297 E: ΞΕ. *Εἰς δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπανίωμεν πάλιν, αἷς ἀναγκαῖον ἀπεικάζειν ἀεὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς ἄρχοντας.* ΝΕ. ΣΩ. *Ποίας;* ΞΕ. *Τὸν γενναῖον κυβερνήτην καὶ τὸν ἑτέρων πολλῶν ἀντάξιον ἰατρόν.* Now in a well known passage, which in *republic* vi closely follows that famous apologue, Socrates points out that it is not, as is commonly supposed, the professors of sophistry who in any appreciable degree corrupt the youth, but rather 'the public itself, *οἱ πολλοί*, who in assemblies, law-courts, theatres, armies, and other great gatherings, with uproarious censure and clamorous applause train and fashion at their will young and old, male and female, and are in fact the chiefest of sophists'—*αὐτοὺς τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας μεγίστους μὲν εἶναι σοφιστάς, παιδεύειν δὲ τελεώτατα καὶ ἀπεργάζεσθαι οἵους βούλονται εἶναι καὶ νέους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας* 492 A. Thus, whereas in the *politicus*, *ὁ περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγματα χορός* is described as *ὁ πάντων τῶν σοφιστῶν μέγιστος γόης*, and *οἱ πολιτικοὶ λεγόμενοι* are spoken of as *μέγιστοι τῶν σοφιστῶν σοφισταί*, the *μέγιστοι σοφισταί*

of the *republic* are the whole populace of Athens: and, in view of the general resemblances between the two passages, it would seem that 'the so-called statesmen' of the *politicus* are, not merely office-holders, but, generally, all who have any share, however small, in the sovereign power, in a word, all who enjoy the rights of citizenship. The question is then what analogues to centaurs, lions, satyrs, and inferior animals, are discoverable in the Greek state, or rather in the Greek states; for, as appears from 291 D ff, we are here concerned with all the forms of constitution exemplified in contemporary Greece.

At this point it is obvious to inquire whether the *republic* contains anything analogous to the centaurs, lions, satyrs, and inferior animals, of the passages before us. In the *εἰκόνες* of the sixth book there is nothing to help us. But in book ix, 588 B—589 B, the constituents of the individual man, that is to say his rational, spirited, and appetitive parts,—his *λογιστικόν, θυμοειδές*, and *ἐπιθυμητικόν*—are respectively compared to a man, a lion, and a snake-like monster having many heads, some of them heads of tame animals, others heads of wild animals, which heads are capable of growth and transformation. Further, since the analogy of the parts of the man to the parts of the state is steadily maintained throughout the *republic*, this *εἰκών* would seem, mutatis mutandis, to be applicable to the state also. That is to say, the three classes—legislators, warriors, and producers—which in the ideal state are harmoniously combined, might be typified respectively by the man, the lion, and the monster, which in the individual typify *λογιστικόν, θυμοειδές*, and *ἐπιθυμητικόν*.

Now the centaur is a man who has some of the characteristics of a noble beast, the satyr is a beast which has some of the characteristics of an ignoble man, and the lion is common to both *εἰκόνες*. Thus, the centaur, the lion, and the satyr of the *politicus* correspond roughly to the man, the lion, and the monster, of the *republic*, and would seem therefore to represent the three elements of the ideal state, as they appear variously modified in contemporary states, the centaur taking the place of the man, and the satyr being

added, in consideration of the difference between the contemporary state and the ideal state. For, manifestly, too much honour would be done to a Syracusan tyrant, if he were compared, without qualification, to the man who typifies the highest element in the ideal state: and accordingly he is represented by a centaur, ruling over weak and cunning beasts. On the other hand, at Athens, where there is no distinct legislative or military element, it would be absurd to represent the whole body of the citizens as inferior animals: so, to meet this case, and other such, the *politicus* introduces satyrs also, who with their animal nature combine something of the man. Again, it is obvious to suppose that the lions represent the Lacedaemonians. For, though there is little resemblance between the constitution of Sparta taken as a whole and the constitution of Callipolis, the citizen of Sparta lived all his life under rules very similar to those prescribed by Plato for the citizen of Callipolis during the years of military service; so that the lion of the *republic* may be retained in the other dialogue.

HENRY JACKSON.

22 *September*, 1901.

THE HOMILY OF PSEUDO-CLEMENT.

The *Homily of pseudo-Clement* is the writing which used to be called the Second Epistle of St Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. This article consists of a paper A on *Cebes and pseudo-Clement*, in which the *Homily* is compared with *Cebetis Tabula*; a paper B on the *Early Evidence* for the *Homily*, shewing that it was perhaps quoted by Irenaeus as St Clement's; and an appendix C of additional notes on the *Homily*. The paper A was read to the Cambridge Philological Society and the paper B to the Cambridge Theological Society in January and March last (1902) respectively.

A.

1. *The Homilist a Gentile.* In *Hom.* i. 6 the writer tells us that he was once a worshipper of stocks and stones. As therefore not a Jew but a Greek, he would certainly have known the story of the *Choice of Hercules*, which Justin Martyr quotes from Xenophon (*Journ. of Phil.* xxi. 245), and he may have known *Cebetis Tabula*. We shall shew that he apparently used both.

2. *His use of Heb. xii.* 1. In *Hom.* i. 6 he continues, Ἀμαύρωσιν οὖν περικείμενοι καὶ τοιαύτης ἀχλύος γέμοντες ἐν τῇ ὁράσει, ἀνεβλέψαμεν ἀποθέμενοι ἐκεῖνο ὃ περικείμεθα νέφος τῇ αὐτοῦ θελήσει, where (as Lightfoot remarks) the language is coloured by Heb. xii. 1 τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων, ὄγκον ἀποθέμενοι πάντα κ.τ.λ. If he had this verse in mind he would naturally have made some sort of use of its ending, "let us *run* with patience *the match* that is set before us," δι' ὑπομονῆς τρέχωμεν τὸν

προκείμενον ἡμῖν ἀγῶνα, in his allusions to the Isthmian games. Accordingly we find the remarkable phrase "run the match" paraphrased in *Hom.* vii. 1—3,

"So then, my brethren, let us contend, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν χερσὶν ὁ ἀγών, καὶ ὅτι εἰς τοὺς φθαρτοὺς ἀγῶνας καταπλέουσιν πολλοί...Let us then contend that we may all be crowned. Ὥστε θέωμεν τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν εὐθεῖαν, ἀγῶνα τὸν ἄφθαρτον κ.τ.λ."

Evidently he refers also to 1 Cor. ix. 24 f., "Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize?...Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible," transferring the epithets of the crown to the contest, with a play upon another sense of φθείρειν in *Hom.* vii. 5 Ὁ τὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀγῶνα φθείρας τί παθεῖται;

Such being his free way of using his authorities, we are prepared to find in the *Homily*, along with more or less obvious references to this or that writing, expressions and ideas of doubtful origin in which some known document or documents may or may not be alluded to.

3. *The Two Ways according to Prodicus.* *Hom.* x. 1, "...let us rather pursue Virtue, but forsake Vice as προοδοίπορον of our sins." *Hom.* v. ends ἀποπίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.

Hom. vi. 1—5, "The Lord saith, *No servant can serve two masters* (Matt., Luke)....Now this αἰών and the coming αἰών are two enemies. The one saith, Adultery and corruption and love of money and deceit (ἀπάτην); but the other biddeth farewell to these. We cannot then be friends of the two, but we must take leave of one of them and associate with the other." Thus the two worlds personified as men replace the women Vice and Virtue, who in the myth of Prodicus make speeches, each commending her own way of life. *Hom.* vi. 5 may refer also to St James iv. 4, "know ye not that ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου is enmity with God?"

4. *Cebetis Tabula.* In chap. 6 of the *Tablet*, as the multitude enter by the gate, the women Δόξαι, Ἐπιθυμίαι, Ἡδοναί spring upon them and embrace them and carry them off, some to be saved and some to perish διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην (*Hom.* vi. 4).

In chap. 9 of the same the cardinal Vices watch men who have received gifts from Fortune; and they spring upon them and embrace them and try to persuade them to remain with them, promising them an easy life free from *κακοπάθεια* (*Hom.* xix. 3 *κακοπαθήσωσιν*). Any one whom they prevail upon *εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἡδυπάθειαν* finds her for a while agreeable; but when he comes to his senses (*ἀνανήψῃ*, cf. *Hom.* xiii. 1) he perceives that he was not eating, but was being eaten up and harmed by her.

In *Hom.* xvii. 3 *καὶ μὴ ἀντιπαρελκώμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν* there may therefore be an allusion to the *Tablet*. If so pseudo-Clement must have been struck by the word *Ἡδυπάθεια*, as indeed it appears that he was, for we find it in *Hom.* xvi. 2 *ἐὰν γὰρ ταῖς ἡδυπαθείαις ταύταις ἀποταξώμεθα*, and again in *Hom.* xvii. 7 *μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς*. Having now some reason to think that the writer used the *Tablet*, we may perhaps by seeking find other possible traces of it in the *Homily*.

Hom. i. 1 *περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν*, 7 *μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντας σωτηρίας* (1 Thess. v. 8). To be *saved* is a term common to the *Tablet* and the New Testament. This, so far as it goes, makes the allegory of Cebes suitable for adaptation by a Christian preacher. Men not saved are in the *Tablet* in a state of error (*Hom.* i. 7).

Hom. ii. 3, "whereas now, having believed, we have become more numerous *τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν Θεόν*" (1 Cor. vii. 40 *δοκῶ ἔχειν*), i.e. than the Jews, cf. Justin *Apol.* i. 53. Here pseudo-Clement not improbably alludes to the *Tablet*, where a man is saved or lost according to the sort of *Δόξα* which he follows, and the more part are apt to imagine that *Ψευδοπαιδεία* is *Παιδεία* (chap. 12). This mistake is made by the men of learning and culture (chap. 13), who when they have reached the second enclosure are seemingly *ἐγγίζοντες πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν* (chap. 35), but still possessed by vain *Δόξαι* from the first enclosure. These *Μαθηματικοί* profess *ἐπίστασθαι ἃ οὐκ οἴδασιν*, and so they do not rouse themselves to advance further, and they cannot possibly be saved unless *Μεταμέλεια* comes to

them and they are convinced that *οὐ Παιδείαν ἔχουσιν ἀλλὰ Ψευδοπαιδείαν*. Regarding the Jews as *ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ περιβόλῳ*, half-way between heathenism and Christianity, pseudo-Clement calls them *οἱ δοκοῦντες ἔχειν Θεόν*, those who fancy that they have the true *Παιδεία* or knowledge of God when they have not. Peter in the *Preaching*, quoted by Hilgenfeld, Lightfoot and Funk from Clem. *Strom.* vi. 5, says of the Jews that *μόνοι οἰόμενοι τὸν Θεὸν γινώσκειν οὐκ ἐπίστανται.*

Hom. xiii. 1 *ἤδη ποτὲ μετανοήσωμεν, νήψωμεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν· μεστοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν πολλῆς ἀνοίας καὶ πονηρίας.* In the *Tablet* repentance is an intellectual conversion from folly to *σύνεσις*.

Hom. xv. 1, "And I think that I have not given mean counsel *περὶ ἐγκρατείας*, which if a man practise he shall not repent, but shall save both himself and me his counsellor. For it is no small reward to convert an erring and perishing soul to be saved." *Ἐγκράτεια* is prominent in the *Tablet*, where in chap. 16 (quoted below) she helps men on their way to salvation. The warning *μὴ παρακούειν* in *Hom.* iii. 4, vi. 7, xv. 5 would have been suggested by chap. 3 f. of Cebes.

Hom. xvii. 2, "Let us therefore help one another, so as *τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀνάγειν περὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν*, that we may all be saved." Compare Clem. *Cor.* xlix. 4 *τὸ ὕψος εἰς ὃ ἀνάγει ἡ ἀγάπη*, Ignat. *Eph.* ix. 1 *ἡ δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεὺς ὑμῶν.* In the *Tablet* the way, *ἡ ἄγουσα πρὸς τὴν ἀληθινὴν Παιδείαν* (chap. 15), is not merely somewhat steep, as in Hesiod's description of it, but it is such that the pilgrims have to be dragged up (*ἄνω*) the worst part of it, namely by *Ἐγκράτεια* and *Καρτερία* (chap. 16). This would account for pseudo-Clement's *ἀνάγειν*, and at the same time for his teaching in *Hom.* xv. 1 that *ἐγκράτεια* in one person may be the means of saving another.

Hom. xix. 3 f., "Blessed are they who obey *τούτοις τοῖς προστάγμασιν*...Let then the godly *μὴ λυπείσθω* if he be miserable in the times present. A blessed time awaiteth him. He shall live again above with the fathers, and shall rejoice *εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα*." The word *πρόσταγμα* occurs in

the *Tablet* (chap. 24) and not in the New Testament. According to Cebes (chap. 26) the man who has attained to the *ἐπιστήμη τῶν συμφερόντων* is like one who enjoys immunity from all ills under the shelter of the Corycian cave, where he is no longer troubled *οὔτε ὑπὸ Λύπης οὔτε ὑπ'...ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενός*, but is *ἐπάνω πάντων τῶν πρότερον αὐτὸν λυπούντων* like *οἱ ἐχιόδηκτοι*. As venomous beasts *ἐκείνους οὐ λυπεῖ*, so *καὶ τοῦτον οὐκέτι οὐδὲν λυπεῖ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἀντιφάρμακον*. All this could not well have been reproduced by the homilist, but it may have led him to speak of the blessed future in store for the righteous as a *sorrow-proof* eternity.

Hom. xx. 1 f. *Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν ταρασσέτω, ὅτι βλέπομεν τοὺς ἀδίκους πλουτοῦντας κ.τ.λ. Θεοῦ ζῶντος πεῖραν ἀθλοῦμεν, καὶ γυμναζόμεθα τῷ νῦν βίῳ ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι στεφανωθῶμεν.* Cebes teaches, with especial reference to wealth, that what *troubles* men, *τὸ ταράττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ βλάπτον* (chap. 40), is their ignorance of what is really good and makes for happiness, cf. chap. 24 *ταράττονται*, chap. 27 *ταραχῆς*. In the *Tablet* pilgrims who endure to the end are *all* crowned (*Hom.* vii. 2).

Hom. xx. 4 *ἔβλαψεν πνεῦμα μὴ ὂν δίκαιον* may likewise have been suggested by the words quoted from chap. 40 of the *Tablet*, which may be paraphrased *τὸ ταράττον τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ βλάπτον τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

Hom. xx. 5 *Τῷ μόνῳ Θεῷ ἀοράτῳ, πατρὶ* (iii. 1 *τὸν πατέρα*) *τῆς Ἀληθείας.* "The Syriac translator takes the Truth here to denote Christ himself (John xiv. 6); comp. Orig. *c. Cels.* viii. 63 *ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς μονογενοῦς αὐτῷ Ἀληθείας*" (Lightfoot). This suggests that the homilist may have been thinking of the personification of Truth as a daughter of *Παιδεία* in the *Tablet* (chap. 18). Compare the note on *Hom.* ii. 3 *τῶν δοκούντων ἔχειν Θεόν* (p. 197 f.). If pseudo-Clement coined the phrase Father of the Truth, Origen's implicit use of it goes to prove that he knew the *Homily*.

From these parallels it may be inferred that some of pseudo-Clement's exhortations were in part suggested by the allegory of Cebes.

5. *Hermas and Cebes.* In articles on *Hermas and Cebes* in Nos. 54, 55 of this JOURNAL it was argued that the author of *Hermae Pastor* used *Cebetis Tabula.* Dr Sandys has "only recently noticed" (Nov. 7, 1901) that in Maurice Croiset's part of the *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* by Alfred and Maurice Croiset "we have an apparently original and independent observation of the indebtedness of Hermas," viz. in the footnote in vol. v., page 416 (1899) on *Cebetis Tabula,*

"Lucien goûtait vivement cette allégorie, qu'il a imitée deux fois. *Il me semble qu'on sent aussi son influence dans les visions d'Hermas.*"

6. *An Emendation of Hom.* x. 3 *Διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνθρωπον οἵτινες παράγουσι φόβους ἀνθρωπίνους κ.τ.λ.* Here for *ἄνθρωπον* I would suggest *ἀνθρώπων* as a partitive genitive, comparing Acts xxi. 16 *συνῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρίας σὺν ἡμῖν.* Ending with *a note of interrogation* we then get the not inappropriate sense, "Are there not *of men* some who, because of their disbelief in the resurrection and the judgment to come (*Hom.* ix. 1), give way to fears of men, and so avoid hardship and persecution and live easy and agreeable lives?" Such men "know not how great torment the enjoyment which is here bringeth, and what delight (*τρυφήν*) the promise which is to come bringeth. And if verily they were doing these things by themselves alone it had been tolerable: but now they continue teaching evil to innocent souls, not knowing that they shall have their condemnation doubled, both themselves and their hearers" (*Hom.* x. 4 f.). The partitive genitive *ἀνθρώπων* would serve to suggest that of such unbelievers and false teachers there are or ought to be but few. The interrogation is in the style of the *Homily,* where see i. 3, 5; iii. 4; v. 6; vi. 2, 9; vii. 5; viii. 5; xiii. 2; xvii. 1; and compare the string of questions in chap. 2 of the *Epistle to Diognetus.*

B.

7. *The Early Evidence for the Homily.* In Patrick Young's *Editio princeps* (1633), and until Bryennius brought out his presumably complete edition of them (1875), the so-called two *Epistles* of Clement were both defective at the end, and it could only be conjectured what their lost chapters contained. In what follows we shall call the two writings the *Epistle* and the *Homily* respectively. Lightfoot in his first edition of them (1869) adopted the conjecture that "Clement towards the close of the epistle dwelt upon the end of all things, the destruction of the world by fire...And for this statement he appealed to the authority, not only of the Apostles and prophets, *but also of the Sibyl*" (pp. 8, 166 f.).

This conjecture rested upon pseudo-Justin's *Respons. ad Orthodox.* 74 in the probably corrupt form,

Εἰ τῆς παρούσης καταστάσεως τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν ἡ διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς κρίσις τῶν ἀσεβῶν, καθά φασιν αἱ γραφαὶ προφητῶν τε καὶ ἀποστόλων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης, καθώς φησιν ὁ μακάριος Κλήμης ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολῇ κ.τ.λ.

According to Usher the said ἐπιστολή was the *Homily*, but Cotelier[1] gave a good or plausible reason for thinking that it was the *Epistle*. Irenaeus writes in a passage extant partly in the Latin only (iii. 3. 3),

Ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος στάσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης τοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ γενομένης ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτούς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἣν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει,

annuntiantem unum Deum omnipotentem, factorem caeli et terrae, plasmatorem hominis, qui induxerit cataclysmum et advocaverit Abraham, qui eduxerit populum de terra Aegypti, qui collocutus sit Moysi, qui legem disposuerit et prophetas miserit, qui *ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus.*

On this (all in Latin) Cotelier wrote as follows,

"Brevem enumerationem capitum in hac Ecclesiae Romanae Epistola contentorum sanctus Martyr instituit. Ea autem

[1] See his *Judicium de posteriore Epist. S. Clem.*

omnia adhuc legere est excepto ultimo, *quod dubio procul lacuna illa circa finem interjecta complectebatur.* Quis porro non videt, ubi ignis Diabolo & Angelis ejus praeparatus memorabatur, ibi commode potuisse agi de mundi fine, ac de impiorum per ignem judicio tunc futuro; ideoque & Sibyllae mentio fieri?"

In reply to Usher, who had argued that the Sibyl could not have been mentioned in the *Epistle,* Cotelier added, "quod si constaret, requirerem praedictarum *Quaestionum* Codices MSS. *num pro καθώς haberent καὶ ὡς, aut καὶ καθώς.*"

This emendation is quoted by Lightfoot (p. 166, 1869) with the remark, "But Cotelier himself points out that the statement of pseudo-Justin is confirmed from another source," namely the above quotation from Irenaeus, as if the one contradicted the other. But there is no such contrariety between them. Cotelier's emendation merely eliminates the supposed allusion to the Sibyl in the *Epistle*[1], and Irenaeus as quoted by him makes no mention of the Sibyl. The emendation is so simple and so simplifies the above *Response* of pseudo-Justin that it might have been accepted at once as probably right. In the edition of Cotelier's *Apostolic Fathers* used in this article I find in tom. i. 311 (Amstel. 1724) the note on *καὶ ὡς αὐτός που φησὶ τῷ Ἱερεμίᾳ* (*Apost. Const.* v. 7),

"17. Καὶ ὡς] Καθὼς in utroque Cod. ut hic habet Versio, melius. *Idem,*" i.e. Joannes Clericus.

In his *Appendix containing the Newly Recovered Portions* (1877) of the *Epistle* and the *Homily* Lightfoot came round to the view of Usher that it was the latter to which pseudo-Justin referred (*Hom.* xvi. n., p. 332). See also vol. i. 178 f. of the enlarged second edition "by the late J. B. Lightfoot" (1890), where the edition of 1869 is quoted at length, Cotelier's emendation is adopted, and the author's final conclusions are set forth as follows:

a. On Cotelier's quotation from Iren. iii. 3. 3, ending "qui *ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus,*" it is said, "This description corresponds with the contents of our epistle,

[1] His conjectural reading "*and* as saith the blessed Clement in the Epistle to the Corinthians" after *καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης* (p. 201) requires the omission of *ideoque & Sibyllae mentio fieri* at the end of his comment on Iren. *l.c.*

excepting the last clause which I have italicised; and the insertion of a statement so remarkable *could not have been an accidental error on the part of Irenaeus.*" This is repeated (i. 178) from the first edition, where it had been inferred that Irenaeus was quoting the lost ending of the *Epistle* (p. 166 f.).

b. "Still constructive criticism has failed here:... *We have every reason to believe that we now possess the genuine epistle complete*, and the passage to which pseudo-Justin refers *is not found there.* When the edition of Bryennios appeared, the solution became evident." The allusion was to *Hom.* xvi., xvii. (i. 179).

c. Thus Irenaeus, who was assumed to have referred to the same passage of Clement as pseudo-Justin, is passed over, and nothing more is said explicitly about his "qui *ignem praeparaverit &c.*" But in a later edition of *The Apostolic Fathers* in one volume (ed. Harmer, 1891) it is said in Lightfoot's short introduction to the *Homily* (p. 41), that "although it was known to the Fathers of *the fourth century and later*, it is not quoted by early writers as being the work of S. Clement." Satisfied with the solution which was "evident" so far as related to pseudo-Justin, the writer omits to revise his statement about Irenaeus, a writer of the second century; unless in *a* we are simply to read *was* for *could not have been.*

Rejecting other possible solutions, as that the *Epistle* as we have it is still incomplete, or that Irenaeus did not write "qui *ignem praeparaverit diabolo et angelis ejus*," I would suggest as the simplest way out of the difficulty that he did so write with allusion to the *Homily* as a sequel to or part of the *Epistle.* Compare the following passages, of which the first and second are quoted by Lightfoot as referred to by pseudo-Justin:

Hom. xvi. 3 Γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος κ.τ.λ.

Hom. xvii. 6 f. Τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην λέγει τῆς κρίσεως, ὅταν ὄψονται τοὺς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσεβήσαντας...ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ κ.τ.λ.

Hom. xviii. Καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν γενώμεθα ἐκ τῶν εὐχαριστούντων τῶν δεδουλευκότων τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν κρινομένων ἀσεβῶν.

καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς πανθαμαρτωλὸς ὢν καὶ μήπω φυγὼν τὸν πειρασμόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι ὢν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὀργάνοις τοῦ διαβόλου κ.τ.λ.

The words *πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ*, themselves from the Gospel, closely followed by *τοῦ διαβόλου* would have reminded Irenaeus of the "eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels," and thus he may have been led to allude to *Hom.* xvii. f. in terms of Matt. xxv. 41.

C.

8. *The Homily and* 2 *Peter.* One of pseudo-Clement's authorities for the final conflagration predicted in *Hom.* xvi. f. may have been 2 Pet. iii.

With *Hom.* xi. 2 *ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος κ.τ.λ.* and the immediately preceding *διὰ τὸ μὴ πιστεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ* compare 2 Pet. i. 19, ii. 8, iii. 4, and see Cotelier, Lightfoot and Funk on *Hom.* xi. and *Epist.* xxiii. In *Hom.* x. 3—5 *οἵτινες παράγουσι φόβους ἀνθρωπίνους κ.τ.λ.* (p. 200) *κακοδιδασκαλοῦντες τὰς ἀναιτίους ψυχάς, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι δισσὴν ἕξουσιν τὴν κρίσιν* the preacher may allude to 2 Pet. ii. 1—14 *ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι οἵτινες παρεισάξουσιν* (i. 5 *παρεισενέγκαντες*)...*οἷς τὸ κρίμα ἔκπαλαι οὐκ ἀργεῖ*...*τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφήν*...*δελεάζοντες ψυχὰς ἀστηρίκτους.* With *Hom.* v. 5 *ἡ ἐπαγγελία μεγάλη*, xv. 4 *μεγάλης ἐπαγγελίας* cf. 2 Pet. i. 4 *τὰ μέγιστα ἐπαγγέλματα.*

Some allusions or parallels to the Lord's Prayer in the *Homily* are pointed out by Dr Chase in the Cambridge *Texts and Studies* (vol. i. 3, p. 129, 1891). With *Hom.* xviii. 2 *πειρασμὸν κ.τ.λ.* cf. 2 Pet. ii. 9 *ἐκ πειρασμοῦ ῥύεσθαι.* Cotelier aptly quotes Luke xviii. 1 as underlying *Hom.* ii. 2 *μὴ ἐγκακῶμεν*, let us *not faint* in prayer.

9. *Previous Emendations of Hom.* x. 3. Several attempts have been made to explain or emend *Hom.* x. 3 *οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἄνθρωπον | οἵτινες κ.τ.λ.*, for which it was proposed above in A to read interrogatively *οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἀνθρώπων οἵτινες*...; The passage is of importance in connexion with the supposed mention of the Sibyl by Clement or pseudo-Clement.

Hilgenfeld's theory was that a lost passage of some length mentioning the Sibyl came before *οἵτινες*.

Passing over the "grammatical irregularity" in *ἄνθρωπον οἵτινες* with a reference to "Jelf's *Gramm.* § 819. 2 *a*," which is reproduced by Funk, Lightfoot (1869) rejected the previous emendations of *ἄνθρωπον*, and proposed to read before it *εἰρήνην εὑρεῖν*, or *εἰρηνεύειν*, "or still better *εὐημερεῖν*...to prosper." Thus the passage is made to run, "For for this cause *is a man unable to attain happiness*, seeing that they call in the fears of men, preferring rather the enjoyment which is here than the promise which is to come. For they know not how great torment the enjoyment which is here bringeth, and what delight the promise which is to come bringeth." Briefly, they cannot "prosper" (*εὐημερεῖν*) because of their heresy *ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται* (*Hom.* ix. 1). Funk gets a like sense from the text as it stands, which may be rendered, "For for this cause a man cannot find *it*," viz. *peace* which had been mentioned just before.

The emendation in A gives in effect the more appropriate sense, "Behold, these are the ungodly, who prosper in the world; they increase in riches" (Ps. lxxiii. 12), whereas the righteous often or sometimes do not, as is implied in *Hom.* xix. f., "Therefore let not the godly be grieved, if he be miserable in the times that now are...Neither suffer ye this again to trouble your mind, that we see the unrighteous possessing wealth, and the servants of God straitened." The *κρίσις* to come will remedy this.

The Syriac, "non est *homini* invenire | *homines* illos qui," is taken by Lightfoot (ii. 232, 1890) to imply a construction *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπον εὑρεῖν* | (*sub. ἐκείνους*) *οἵτινες*. Say rather that *οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν* was rendered, "it is not possible for a man to find," and that what stood after *εὑρεῖν* for *ἄνθρωπον* was rendered *homines*. The Syriac Version of the Two Epistles (ib. i. 131) has since been edited by Mr Kennett.

The misunderstanding and corruption of *Hom.* x. 3 may be attributed to the preacher's "looseness and inconsequence of expression." Photius writes on the *Homily* and the *Epistle*, *Ἄλλως δέ τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς νοήματα ἐρριμμένα πως καὶ οὐ*

συνεχῆ τὴν ἀκολουθίαν ὑπῆρχε φυλάττοντα (ib. i. 198, ii. 212).

10. *Irenaeus and the Homily.* The *Epistle* being a letter from the Church in Rome to the Church in Corinth and the *Homily* doubtless a sermon preached in Corinth, the superscription πρὸς Κορινθίους belonged to both. For this reason and because of certain "resemblances," which are supposed to prove that the homilist was acquainted with and borrowed from the *Epistle*, the *Homily* may soon have come to be written or to be quoted from memory as part of it, or as another epistle of the same writer Clement. "Both are apparently ascribed to St Clement" by "all the three MS. authorities." In the Alexandrian Codex A the *Homily* stands next after the *Epistle* "without any heading" (Lightfoot)[1], and so it may have stood in an earlier manuscript. Or it may have been simply remembered as a conclusion to the *Epistle* pervaded by the idea of the judgment of the wicked. See κριτής, κρίνω, κρίσις in *Hom.* i. 1; ix. 1; x. 5; xvi. 3; xvii. 6; xviii. 1, 2.

But, without any error or misunderstanding as to the duality of the two writings, Irenaeus may have referred to them as a single ἱκανωτάτην γραφήν addressed to the Corinthians. Pseudo-Justin, as we have seen, alludes to words of the "Second Epistle" as found in *the* one Ἐπιστολή of Clement to the Corinthians; the μακάριος Κλήμης himself writes in Clem. *Cor.* xlvii. 1, "Take up *the epistle* of the blessed Paul the Apostle"; and on this Lightfoot remarks in a footnote,

"τὴν ἐπιστολήν] It must not be inferred from this expression that Clement was unacquainted with the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians; for exactly in the same way Irenaeus (i. 8. 2) writes ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους (where the present Latin text specifies *in prima ad Corinthios epistola*), and again (iv. 27. 3) *in epistola quae est ad Corinthios*, and (iv. 27. 4) quotes 2 Thessalonians as *ea quae est ad Thessalonicenses epistola*. So also Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 63 ἐν τῇ πρὸς Τιμόθεόν φησι, iii. 20 τῇ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς, Method. *Symp.* iii. 14 (p. 22 Jahn) λαβέτω δὲ

[1] But, it is said, we cannot "feel sure that this phenomenon was not due to the mutilation of the MS."

μετὰ χειρὸς ὁ βουλόμενος τὴν πρὸς Κορινθίους ἐπιστολήν, Macarius Magnes *Apocr.* iii. 36 (p. 131 Blondel) καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους δὲ ἐπιστολῇ λέγει Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω κ.τ.λ., Hieron. *Epist.* lii. 9 (I. p. 264) *lege Pauli epistolam ad Corinthios, quomodo diversa membra unum corpus efficiunt*, Anast. Sin. *Hodeg.* 12 (p. 97) ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους, and Chrysostom in his preface to the Colossians (XI. p. 322 B, ed. Bened.) refers to 2 Timothy as ἡ πρὸς Τιμόθεον (ἐπιστολή)."

Hilgenfeld is quoted on *Hom.* viii. 5 Εἰ τὸ ΜΙΚΡΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΤΗΡΗCΑΤΕ κ.τ.λ. (cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, Log. 7) as comparing Iren. ii. 34. 3 and inferring that Irenaeus used the *Homily* "quamvis nondum Clementi Romano adscripta."

11. The pre-Bryennian text of the *Homily* broke off at *Hom.* xii. 5 καὶ τὸ ἄρCΕΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΗC ΘΗΛΕΙΑC, ΟΥΤΕ ἌΡCΕΝ ΟΥΤΕ ΘΗΛΥ, τοῦτο...

Here in a footnote Lightfoot wrote (p. 211, 1869) that "the missing end of the Second Epistle must have taken up about 10 leaves, while the extant portion comprises only $1\frac{3}{4}$. Thus it would appear that about $\frac{5}{6}$ths of the whole epistle have been lost. Of this lost ending two fragments are preserved," sc. in Joan. Damasc. *Sacr. Par.*

(i.) The former fragment belongs to *Hom.* xx.

Lightfoot on *Hom.* xx. 1 points out that this fragment has Μὴ ταρασσέτω τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν, instead of Ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνο τὴν διάνοιαν ὑμῶν ταρασσέτω, by assimilation to St John xiv. 1, 27 μὴ ταρασσέσθω ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία. Pseudo-Clement's ταρασσέτω has been accounted for on p. 199.

(ii.) The latter fragment is to the effect that the man of insight understands things accounted good and desirable to be often quite the reverse,

Ὁ τῶν παρόντων αἰσθητικὸς συνίησιν ὡς οὔτε ἃ λογίζονταί τινες εἶναι τερπνά, ξένα καὶ μακράν ἐστι τῶν ἀπεχθῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλοῦτος πολλάκις μᾶλλον πενίας ἔθλιψε, καὶ ὑγεία πλέον ἠνίασε νόσου. καὶ καθόλου τῶν λυπηρῶν καὶ φευκτῶν πάντων

ὑπόθεσις καὶ ὕλη ἡ τῶν ἀσπαστῶν καὶ κατ᾽ εὐχὴν περιβολὴ γίνεται.

This has not been found in the *Homily*, nor is it in the preacher's style; but in substance it is an epitome of the epilogue of "Cebes," some of whose teaching pseudo-Clement reproduces in a Christian form (p. 196 f.). See from chap. 33 to the end of the *Tablet*, noticing chap. 36 *Τοῦτο δὲ ἐξήγησαι, πῶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθὰ...τὸ ζῆν, τὸ ὑγιαίνειν, τὸ πλουτεῖν...καὶ ὅσα τούτοις παραπλήσια*, chap. 38 *πολλάκις γὰρ οὐ συμφέρει τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον*, chap. 40 *καὶ τὸ σύνολον κ.τ.λ.*

12. That the *Homily* is a homily, as some had said long before its lost ending was found, is proved by the words of its now extant chapters xvii., xix., "And think we not to attend and believe now only while we are being admonished by the presbyters; but likewise when we have gone home let us remember the commandments of the Lord...Therefore, brothers and sisters, after the [word of the] God of truth, I am reading to you an exhortation to attend to the things written, that ye may save both yourselves and him that readeth among you."

C. TAYLOR.

CAMBRIDGE,
1902.

ON THE HISPERICA FAMINA.

THE edition of the Hisp. Fam. referred to in these notes is that of Stowasser (Wien 1887). Like the original edition of Cardinal Mai (Auct. Class. v. 479—500) it is very difficult to procure; indeed it is owing to Dr Stowasser's courtesy alone that I am in possession of a copy. With the Hisp. Fam. it is necessary to compare Prof. Rhys' paper on the Luxemburg Fragment, Revue Celtique I. 346 sqq., as well as Stowasser's article on the same Fragment, *Das Luxemburger Pergamen* (1886), and his later edition of a hymn, with Celtic and Latin glosses, to which Dr Bethmann first drew his attention, *De quarto quodam Scoticae Latinitatis specimine* (Wien 1889). Better known than all these is the so-called *Lorica* of Gildas (Mone I. 367, Stokes Irish Glosses p. 133).

The most accessible source of information on the Hisp. Fam. is the Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, notably the papers of Geyer (II. 255), Stowasser (III. 168), Thurneysen (III. 546). But though much has been made out, a great deal remains still dubious and unexplained: in particular the exact amount of connexion between these strange *famina* and Celtic.

p. 4 ed. Stow. l. 2 *mestum extrico pulmone tonstrum* I tear from my breast its mournful sadness. *Tonstrum* because to cut the hair short was a sign of mourning.

l. 3 *cum insignes sophiae †speculator arcatores.*

Either *speculantur* 'are on the watch,' in allusion to the *arx sapientiae* from which they look down on the errors of their opponents (Cir. 14 sqq.), or *spiculantur* aim darts, cf. l. 20 *dum truculenta me uellicant spicula.*

l. 5 *Cui mundano triquadrae telluris †articorhetorum florigera flectit habenas caterua et qui remota uasti fundaminis deseruere competa?*

Perhaps *Cui m. t. t.* artito *et* cui *r. u. f. d. c.* In any case the double dative *cui...cui* seems required. *Artito* accomplished, i.e. a professor perfectly trained in the requirements of his art. Götz Thes. Gloss. Artitus *πάντεχνος* artibus edoctus.

l. 12 *candida madiada* is here very clearly the central parts of the body, thighs or legs. It may be from *μέζεα*. The epithet *candida* leaves little room for doubt.

l. 16 *inuito obello*, and again p. 16. 2 *ruunt in obello gigantes.* Stowasser explains *o* as *hoc*, rejecting any connexion with *auellum*, though the Luxemb. Fragm. has auelloso catalrid, explained by Rhys as from *cadol*, a word connected with battle, and Götz Thes. Gl. gives Auellum bellum ciuile dum in duas partes diuiditur. Surely the probabilities are against Stowasser; *hoc* is not wanted in either passage, *auello* in sound is very near to *obello.* Besides it would be just in the mode of the Hisp. Fam. to follow up a rare and unusual word like *auello* by a similar, but not equally unfamiliar form, as he has done in l. 17 *inertes mactaui duelles.*

l. 21 'I unsheath my nimble sword that makes havoc of yielding statues,' *euagino spatham quae almas trucidat statuas.* Does this mean that his opponents cannot face him and are cut down unresistingly? or is there some special sense of *statua*, as in 9. 1? *Almus* is a favourite word in Hisp. Fam., yet it is not impossible that it has been mistaken in some cases for a different word. Here *alnias statuas* might mean alders (typical for trees) standing up high in air, which notwithstanding their height are at once brought down by the powerful sword of the *faminator*, if I may coin a word.

l. 22 *cluit* prob. = tegit: see on 11. 1.

l. 23 *assiles* can hardly be 'round' here, as the Lux. Fragm. interprets: see on 11. 2. I suspect it means 'lathy,' without real strength.

l. 24 *ob cunctos lastro in agonē coaeuos.* Stow. inserts *hoc*

after *ob*, cf. 8. 23 and 28, 9. 23. *lastro* seems supported by Lux. Fragm. 80 lastrat mutat, which Stow. changes to multat: but it is quite doubtful what it means. Perhaps 'bring to the ground, prostrate.' *Lastrum* is medieval Latin for the foot of a column.

p. 5, l. 7 *futura temporalis globi per pagula.*

pagula = frena (Götz s. u.) is here not the word required. I suspect *plagula* a neuter form of the fem. noun = tracts.

l. 24 *obessa* looks like a mistake for *obsessa*. See Götz Thes. Gloss. s. u. obesus.

l. 25 *cicniam gemellis bailas curuanam scapulis.* Curuana is perhaps *κυρβασία* a tiara or bonnet. 14. 4 *nitentes ceruicibus gestant curuanas.* In 9. 16 *arboreas figite in pariete curuanas* they are taken off and hung upon a house-wall.

l. 26 *calamida* = chlamydem. Götz Thes. Gloss. calamida uestis quaedam regalis.

ll. 29, 31 I have no doubt that *ἄγροικα, παντοῖα* are here transliterated. I do not think *agrica* a distinct Latin adjective, or that *pantia* is for *panta.*

l. 34 In the lacuna may have been *in*(*fantium*). The repetition *infantilis infantium uagitus* would be in the style of Hisp. Fam. 5. 2 *innumera apium concauis discurrunt examina apiastris.* 7. 7 *nec oliuatus frondea oliuat nimbus robora.* 6. 8 *flangosas flectit per laquearia flammas.*

p. 6, l. 1 *Ceu montosus scropias tranat tollus per macides* 'as a swoln mountain torrent flows over rocky precipices.' *tollus* recurs 6. 18 *haud hispericum propinabis auido gutture tollum,* there too, if I mistake not, with the idea of a *full* stream. The meaning of *macides* is not cleared up by the glosses of the Lux. Fragm. (68, 69) in fenosa machide igueltiocion airmaou, nor can it well have anything to do with *μάχη.* The general sense points to *μακρὸς μακεδνός*, or possibly *μακέλα* = *φράγματα* (Hesych.) a latinization of which *maculum* seems to have been used in Orientius H. 3. 108.

l. 6 *ac aruca* perhaps conceals some compound of *ἄχυρα* chaff.

l. 8 *flangosas* possibly for *flagriosas*, at any rate connected with *flagrare*.

l. 13 *a(c) quatinus uitreum tetigeris patula poli samum cuba* 'until you shall have touched the glass-green edge of the sky with the open hand.' So 9. 28 *aquatico lauate idumas nitro ut lotae innotescant cubae* 'wash the hands with soap and water that the washing of the palms (?) may be discernible.' From the Hymnus Loricae of Gildas or Gillas v. 55 (57 in Stokes Irish Glosses p. 140) *Tege ulnas cum cubis et manibus, Pugnas, palmas, digitos cum unguibus* it is clear that it was part of the hand or at least of the arm. Stokes p. 145 states that Aelfric glosses the nom. sing. *cuba* by *elboga*. But the sense 'elbow' does not suit either *patula* or *tetigeris*, nor would the washing of the hands necessarily or naturally extend to the elbow. This is a difficulty which however does not justify our referring either passage of the Hisp. Fam. to the sense of *cuba* found in some Latin Glossaries, e.g. Phillipps 4626, 'end of a ship,' *cuba extrema pars nauis dicta eo quod incubet aquis*.

l. 17 *mundanique uiuidum censuerint coloni ponti spiraculum* 'and until the inhabitants of the world shall acknowledge the sea as a place to live and breathe in.' But I suspect *consuerint* to be the right word: shall make it a common thing to live and breathe in the sea.

l. 25 *Bis senos exploro uechros qui· ausoniam lacerant palatham*. He mentions here 12 defects (this seems to be the meaning of *uechros*) which mar the pure diction of the Romans. But why *palatham*, *παλάθην*? Hesychius explains the word as *ἡ τῶν σύκων ἐπάλληλος θέσις*, figs pressed into cake. It may be said that he uses a similar word in the next sentence: *ex his gemella astant facinora quae uerbalem sauciant uipereo tactu struem*. But *strues* suggests structure, which is the main idea of diction or style. This does not hold of *palatha*. I again scent a corruption, and believe the right word is *palangam* 'a nugget of gold.' So 6. 35 *italicum lecti faminis sauciant obrizum* 'pure ore of refined speech.'

ll. 35, 36 *quod ex his propriferum loquelosi tenoris in hac assertione affigis facinus*. If the words are part of the original,

they may be translated 'because among these (faults of style) you append your own offence against regular diction, included in the catalogue of faults which is stated here.' By which the *faminator* might mean that his reader would spontaneously note the particular fault to which his own diction tended, and that it was unnecessary to go more into detail.

But I do not feel sure that the words are not a question, written by some early student of the Hisp. Fam. in the margin, and afterwards taken into the text by mistake. Such a critical reader coming upon the category of faults asks 'what is the particular offence which in making this statement of *uitia* you attach to it as your own?' a very natural remark in reading Hisp. Fam.

p. 7, l. 6 *densos phetoneum extricat sudos incendium* 'the blaze of the shining god (Phaethon = Sol, as in Aen. 5. 105 *nonamque serena Auroram Phaethontis equi iam luce uehebant*) disentangles (disperses) the thick mists.' That *sudos* = mists or fogs seems probable from 11. 11 where the sky is described as *quae umbriferos uago tegmine stipat sudos* 'massing in its shifting canopy the fogs that produce darkness.' This extraordinary meaning (the exact converse of its true sense) probably came from some such etymology as is mentioned in Götz Thes. Gloss. s. u. *sudum.* Serenum post pluuiam, dictum a sudore humoris uel quasi semiudum uel siccum id est sine uuido.

l. 12 *frondicomas auitica orbat latebras turma, ca[m]paneas aculeant gleuas.*

Stowasser is wrong in changing *aculeant* to *aculcant* (tread). The birds puncture the clods of earth with their beaks, to find worms, which are mentioned in the next words *uermia sorbellant picis* (with their bills) *frusta.*

l. 15 *calastreas meant calcibus pessas* 'the herds traverse with their hooves (i.e. frisk or scurry over) the gravelly meadows.' I have tried to show on 11. 33 that *calastreus* is connected with *κάχληξ* or *χάλιξ.* Stowasser regards the word as formed from *κήλαστρον* a kind of evergreen, on which they might browse. But this does not suit 11. 33, unless indeed

cal there is *καὶ* and *astrea* = astrica 'starry.' *pessas* may be *πείσεα* 'meadows.'

l. 21 *gurgitia* = gurgustia. Götz cites both *gurgitium* and *gurgutium* as glossarial variations on *gurgustium.*

l. 23 *tabulosa flagrantes essuum orbant sonipedes stabula, atritas frangosis motibus meant arrigas.*

essuum after *stabula,* eating-stalls; but possibly *sessuum* 'where they rest.' *frangosis* probably 'trampling.' The horses' hooves break the clayey clods as they rush over them. *arrigas* may be a metathesis of *argillas.* Götz Thes. Gloss. s. u. *arzila sicca gipsa* shows that the word went through strange transmutations.

l. 26 *toraces θώρακες* 'chests.' Hymn. Loricae 73 (75) toracem cum pulmone.

ib. *Amens ferinae prolis cohors almos calcat †epimnos, asperrimum inuoluunt gressibus ruscum, gibrosos petulco prospectant uernaculos †scroplo.*

I have obelized the only doubtful words. For *epimnos* Stow. suggests *erymnos* hills or rising ground where the riders would be secure: but it may well be a ground herb or low shrub, conceivably *eringos ἠρύγγους,* against which is the harsh and prickly nature of the plant: *almos* however is a very flexible word in Hisp. Fam. and might perhaps = fragrant, sweet smelling. *Scroplo* = scrupulo is only difficult in connexion with *petulco*: for how could a mass of rock (supposing the word could mean this) be described as *petulcus*? It remains to explain it of doubt or perplexity, caused by the horses' riders bringing them suddenly in sight of men (*gibrosos*), seemingly servants (*uernaculos*), at a distance: this feeling of *surprise* they express by neighing (*petulco*), ordinarily the sign, not of dismay or surprise but wantonness or at least some livelier emotion.

p. 8, l. 6 *motatoria* seems to be for *mutatoria* fine delicate robes put on when the wearer wished for a more comfortable and easy dress. See Du Cange.

l. 15 *totum namque nocturni †ligonis lectriceis censuimus stadium excubiis.*

ligonis is I think another form of *lagenae* 'flagon.' We have devoted the whole time that might be given to nocturnal revels to reading.

So in the Luxemburg Fragm. rube(a) tegunt polum ob(te)stacula ac uitrea atro ligone serū (serunt Stow.) cacumina I interpret *ligone* 'jar' 'urn' whence the clouds pour the dark (*atro*) rain within.

l. 20 *archiuiis* in this passage seems certainly to mean chests or cupboards, as the epithet *concauis* would not be suitable for a chamber. If *stornos soluite factos* is genuine, it may perhaps refer to putting the bed-clothes together and depositing them in such cupboards: *soluite* might imply that they had been *made* (*factos*) and were now taken to pieces and put away. *Stornus* occurs again p. 14, l. 1 *plurifici stornos carnali compage globant amictus,* which may refer to coverlets to wrap the limbs in: at least *carnali compage* ought to mean the fleshy frame-work of the body, upon which (abl. loci) the coverlets are set round.

l. 31 *artici* 'confine.' Luxemb. Fragm. ar[..]is finis: so in 6. 19 *in quantum eous ab occiduo limite distat articus.*

l. 33 *stricto* they are not to wander about irregularly but to keep close together.

l. 36 *spillis* seems = 'rocks' *σπίλοις*, from which they would descend upon the unwary.

l. 39 *saxeas statuas* may be upstanding masses or pillars of rock.

p. 9, l. 3 *crepita* 'margins' or 'rims' plur. of a neuter nom. *crepitum* seemingly formed direct from *κρηπίς*.

l. 11 *arictat* is glossed by *collocat* (Lux. Fragm.). Can it be connected with *ridge*?

l. 17 *censuerint* may appoint, assign, hold out.

l. 18 *pelliceis pratis* probably *widths* of skin.

ib. *laricomi torriminis* of burning larch-leaves. 6. 5 *ueluti rosea aestiui laris ueternas cremat pira rubigine amarcas* 'as a ruddy fire burns with its red flame the decaying boughs of a

larch in summer': where *amarca* seems = 'bough' or 'stem,' rather than 'tree,' cf. 15. 10 *glaucicomas folicia strue tegit amarcas.* So 15. 21 *larix -icis* has become *laris -is.*

l. 20 *caloreum librauerit tactum, algidum eruerit focum* 'may deliver (give out) a warm feel, rake out the cold fire-place.' The words as the MS gives them should not be changed, as Stowasser edits, to *c. l. focum, a. e. tactum.*

l. 23 *perculam* = feriam, a form adapted to *perculi. Amite* proves *amiclios* to mean hounds, Geor. 3. 345: with this the epithet *furibundos* would well agree. Amyclae is associated not only with hunting and dogs, but with the invention of hunting-nets (Gratt. Cyneg. 101, 2). The meaning is perhaps 'I use no fine or far-fetched words in the request I make: I am as downright as a huntsman who uses the wooden pole of his net to strike his clamorous hounds.'

l. 25 If *excusant* is genuine, it must mean 'plead in excuse' sc. that they possess only a scanty supply of provision: but I should prefer *excusent* or *excusate* 'kind (or fine) neighbours, allow that we grasp some slight provision under heaven's good will.' This in any case must be the sense of *sub numine.*

l. 28 *rithmis* 'orders' or 'companies.' *nitro* is right, 'soap' for washing the hands.

l. 29 *ageum concentum* a holy chant, sc. grace before meat.

l. 30 What is the nominative to *propinauerit*? It must be *concentus,* the stress lying on *salubrem* 'that it may give inward health to the liquor which it offers to be drunk.'

l. 33 *ciboneum cocyti follum* 'the hollow which receives the food of hell' = the *hollow jaws* of hell. They are to pray that the kind neighbours who have given them provisions, may be received into heaven, not condemned to hell.

p. 10, l. 3 *ut salsas lixae tripudiauerint per cinerem lithias.* Read *cinerum* which depends on *lithias,* seemingly a mistake for *litrias* 'nitrates': 'that the water may bound amid the salt nitrates of the ashes.'

l. 5 *paula* perhaps a hair-renewer.

l. 8 *lacteus populauit haustus*: as 5. 14 *sonoreus faminis per guttura popularet haustus*, and 5. 1 *mellifluum populans ausonici faminis per guttura sparginem*. Perhaps the idea is of spreading or streaming widely; in 5. 1 it seems to mean carrying a full flood of Italian speech.

l. 15 *tetraque mundanum obumbrat mersa girum*. The sense of *taetra* may be elicited from Hymn. Loricae *tremor tetras turbas terreat* the hideous crowds of demons (Stokes): so here 'gloomy.'

l. 24 *grimite* can hardly be *cremia*, but is formed on the analogy of *fomes -itis*; the glosses cremium sarmentum and gremia siccamina (Götz Thes. i. p. 285) make it probable that the original word was *cremes -itis*, 'fuel.'

l. 26 Can *olipo* = *ollicoquo* or perhaps *ollico* χυτρεψῷ, here used for a pot in which water is boiled? *mensium* (cod. *mersium*), may be right 'distribute the service according to the usual sequence of the months,' i.e. in a continuous series from 1 to 12.

l. 29 *olimpum* here seems to mean a collection of water, a pond or tank.

ll. 35, 36 an almost exact repetition of 9. 33—10. 1, 2.

l. 38 *artant* refers to the *close pressure* on each other of the eyelids caused by drowsiness.

p. 11, l. 1 *blanda pecoreis uelate cubilia pratis* makes it probable that *cluite*, which occurs with nearly the same words above 10. 24, 9. 18 means 'cover'; from its occurring twice, it can hardly be an *error* for *cludite*; possibly it is a *change* of the word which was originally spelt with *d*.

l. 2 *assilis* as epithet of *gugra* (*gigra*) 'head' occurs in the Luxemb. Fragm. and is there glossed by *cronion*. In two other passages of the same fragm. *cronion* is glossed as meaning *tornatili* 'round.' Rhys (Rev. Celtique i. p. 346 sqq.), who explains *cronion*, finds *assilis* obscure. P. 4. 23 *assilis macerat rostrum cidones*, the meaning of *cidones* is too doubtful to help us much. On the other hand 11. 11 *polica assili situ plasmata est sphaera* the sense is obviously 'round.' As an epithet of

'head' this would have less significance than 'bony': I would therefore suggest *ossilibus* in 11. 2, the hardness of the head-bones thus contrasting with the softness of the pillows on which they rest. *ossilis* occurs in Lux. Fragm.

l. 4 *attigua* 'near,' Götz Thes. s.u. Attiguus est uicinus uel propinquus.

l. 8 *nocturnas librent excubias* may refer to the balanced position of the body which monks were obliged to use for keeping awake in the long night hours, or does it refer to the *delivery* from time to time of the hours which mark the divisions of the night?

l. 10 Here *olimpi* is obviously the sky.

l. 12 *uago tegmine* in its shifting vault. *tegmine* seems = the inclosure of the sky. I do not think the words refer to *sudos*, whatever that may mean, as if the mists or rain-clouds formed a shifting mass of shade which covered the sky.

l. 15 *gansia* must be the moon: but how? Its combination with *pallida* suggests *whiteness* as the etymological idea: can it be so called from the snowy whiteness of the goose (*ganz*, Prov. *ganta*)? Hehn Plants and Animals (transl. of Stallybrass p. 279) states that in Pliny's time whole flocks of geese were driven from Belgium to Italy, particularly from the land of the Morini, who inhabited the Belgian coasts; the delicate white feathers which came from that country were celebrated, and are said to have belonged to a species of goose called *gantae* (Plin. x. 53).

l. 25 *quae temporeo propiamine explicare non famulor*: but 14. 7 *quae temporali propriamine non explico*. The verb *propiare* exists. Götz Thes. propiauit proximauit. Perhaps the nearness of the time = the near pressure, or narrow extent of it. *properamine* is an easy, but hardly probable, emendation. I dissent here from Stowasser, who prefers *propriamine* 'language of my own': but how does *temporeo* or *temporali* suit with this?

l. 33 †*calastrea glaucicomus uerberat competa pontus*. Stowasser corrects *astrea*, cf. 13. 24. But *cal* cannot be so

lightly disregarded. If there were any instance of *καὶ* for *et* in the Hisp. Fam. as there seems to be in the Hymn to which Bethmann called Stowasser's attention, l. 28, where *kalextratus* seems to be for *καὶ* extra(c)tus, it would be easy to write *καὶ astrea*: but it is unsafe to do so in the absence of such a use in Hisp. Fam. It might also be objected that *competa* is hardly the word we should expect for the paths of the *stars*. But neither can *calastrea* here apply to the shrub *κήλαστρον*, as it might in 7. 15 *calastreas meant* (pecora) *calcibus pessas*. The sense that best suits both passages would be shingly or pebbly. Perhaps then some formation from *κάχληξ* or *χάλιξ* may be the explanation of the word. The *competa* would be the narrow *freta* into which the sea runs and which if the substratum were shingle or pebbles would give back a loud sound aptly described as *lashing*, cf. 12. 2 *scropeas in thermopilas*. This idea also agrees with the other passage: the hooves of the animals are heard striking loudly upon the pebbles of the ground.

l. 37 *gemellum neptunius collocat ritum pontus* MS. *situm* Stowasser, which gives the favourite scazontic rhythm. Yet *collocat situm* seems odd: compare however 12. 6 *fremit bromum*; 13. 3 *ardua campaneus collogat septa situs*.

l. 38. *adsisam*, the tide coming in. Hymn. Bethm. ed. Stowasser *Blepomen agialus nicate dodrantibus*, where the glossator has superscribed *uincitur adsissis* id est *adlauou*, which illustrates Hisp. Fam. 12. 1 *uastaque tumente dodrante inundat freta*.

p. 12, l. 2 *patulas eruit a cautibus marinas*. Though *patella* = limpet, it is *marina* which is here the substantive, probably with that meaning.

l. 3 *belbicinas* = belui(ci)nas, not uel uicinas as Stowasser. *Effigies* aptly describes the strange shapes of the marine animals thrown up on the shore.

l. 7 *tramat* MS, not to be changed and = *trameat*.

l. 9 *immensas* with *scaphas* perhaps = innumeras. Stat. S. II. 1. 219 *inmensis urnam quatit Aeacus umbris*.

l. 12 *inormia uastum litigant coetia per †itnum.* Perhaps ἦτρον (etrum) belly: so *uterum* l. 17.

l. 13 *sugillant* suggests *singultant* gulp.

l. 26 *uiricomis* perhaps= uiridicomis χλωροῖς.

l. 27 *natalemque flammiuomi laris depromit lento murmure rigorem.* This seems to support the interpr. of *laris* as 'larch' the natural *hardness* of which is drawn out by the flame and gives a sound expressive of its toughness and stubbornness.

l. 30 *flexit* ἔφλεξε kindled.

p. 13, l. 4 *maturas frugifero tegmine parturit segetes.* Stow. alters *tegmine* to *termine.* This does not seem certain: possibly *tegmine* refers to the corn-crops which cover the ground where they are planted.

l. 6 *spinosis degestum uerrunt astitiae praedium.* I believe *spinosis* to mean brambles used for sweeping, *astitiae* to be an error for *ascitae* ἀσκηταὶ monks.

l. 10 *delicatas copulant homestas.* In the last word *t* should be retained from the MS as the *st* may point to a form in which the long *e* of a noun in *-etum,* was replaced by *-es-,* when the neut. changed to a feminine. In form the word is very like *agresta* (see Du Cange); the meaning is as utterly dark as that of *domesca* in two passages of Hisp. Fam., 6. 33 *sensibiles partiminum corrodit domescas,* 14. 33 *ingeniosas rhetorum grauauero domescas.* Something may perhaps be gained by comparing the similar *ne doctoreas rhetorum grauauero uenas* 13. 19, *ne doctoreis suscitauero fastidium castris* 14. 20. In the former *uenas* certainly suggests natural powers or gifts (cf. *uena ingeni*); but this does not suit 6. 33.

l. 31 seems to mean that, the wind being invisible, God will employ its terrible, though unseen, tones to pass sentence on the world at the last judgment (*reamine*).

l. 34 *plurimis* is an error, I believe, for *plumis.* Feathers are the material from which are constructed coverlets, wrappings, stoles, imperial robes (*trabeae*), soldiers' *armilausae,* and different coverings for the head.

p. 14, l. 2 *giluas uerticibus †alunt mitras crispososque †sedant cincinnos ac libosas copulant tricarias.* The peculiar diction of the Hisp. Fam. determines a critical judgment against altering *alunt* to *agunt*, or *sedant* to *sectant*. The former = support or cherish on their heads, the latter means that the mitrae or head-coverings keep the locks in order and prevent them from straying irregularly. The gloss in the Luxemb. Fragm. *ac libosas milinon* cannot be called illuminative. Prof. Rhys explains *milinon* as = melinon in the sense of honey-coloured; it might also perhaps be referred to *μελίνη* millet.

tricarias seems equally doubtful; it is of course a substantive, whether from *θρίξ* = *πολυμίτους*, or a variation on *stricarias* = tunics. Götz Thes. s.u. stica tunica and again strica tunica.

ll. 8—21. This is the least intelligible section of the Hisp. Fam. It is quite uncertain *what* is described. That it may be some part of the equipment of a soldier is possible from the last word *castris*.

p. 15, l. 9 *lecto incremento* is perhaps an error for *laeto i. lectissime* has become *letissime* in some MSS of Stat. S. v. 1. 247.

l. 23 *flammiuomusque laris frondeam fumigat clibanus siluam.* Another indication of the meaning of *laris* as a *tree*.

l. 31 *finalis globi* = finalis circuli (Macrob. S. S. II. 5), *ὁρίζοντος κύκλου*, the horizon.

ROBINSON ELLIS

ON THE GEOMETRICAL PROBLEM IN PLATO'S MENO, 86 E SQQ.: WITH A NOTE ON A PASSAGE IN THE TREATISE DE LINEIS INSECABILIBUS (970ª 5).

λέγω δὲ τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ὧδε, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι πολλάκις σκοποῦνται, ἐπειδάν τις ἔρηται αὐτούς, οἷον περὶ χωρίου, εἰ οἷόν τε ἐς τόνδε τὸν κύκλον τόδε τὸ χωρίον τρίγωνον ἐνταθῆναι, εἴποι ἄν τις ὅτι Οὔπω οἶδα, εἰ ἔστι τοῦτο τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μέν τινα ὑπόθεσιν προὔργου οἶμαι ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοιάνδε· εἰ μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοιοῦτον, οἷον παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμὴν παρατείναντα ἐλλείπειν τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ, οἷον ἂν αὐτὸ τὸ παρατεταμένον ᾖ, ἄλλο τι συμβαίνειν μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ ἄλλο αὖ εἰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι ταῦτα παθεῖν. ὑποθέμενος οὖν ἐθέλω εἰπεῖν σοι τὸ συμβαῖνον περὶ τῆς ἐντάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κύκλον, εἴτε ἀδύνατον εἴτε μή.

Of the various interpretations proposed for this well-known passage, none have been found quite satisfactory. Far the best of them is that by Professor Butcher, which was published in this Journal in 1888 (XVII 34, p. 219). It has a defect which he confesses: but nevertheless he seems to have discovered the most essential part of the solution, and it has recently occurred to the present writer that to complete the solution it is only necessary to explain differently a phrase in the Greek which appears to have been generally misunderstood.

The meaning of the words *εἰ οἷόν τε ἐς τόνδε τὸν κύκλον τόδε τὸ χωρίον τρίγωνον ἐνταθῆναι*, is clearly 'whether it is possible to inscribe this area as a triangle in this circle,' and the problem intended is to determine whether a triangle equal in area to a given (rectilineal) figure can be inscribed in a given circle. For, as Stallbaum says, *τρίγωνον* must be predi-

cate, and 'this triangular area' would have to be *τόδε τὸ τρίγωνον χωρίον*. (One may compare the porism to Eucl. II 4 —*ἐν τοῖς τετραγώνοις χωρίοις*.)

About the meaning of *ἐλλείπειν* here there can be no doubt. It is determined by Eucl. VI 27, 28 and 29, to which Mollweide referred. (See Stallbaum's note in his edition of the Meno, 1836.) If a parallelogram has its base applied to a line greater than its base, it is said to be in defect (*ἐλλείπειν*) by the parallelogram required to complete the parallelogram upon the given

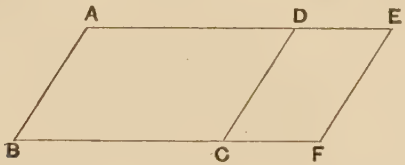

Fig. 1.

straight line. Thus if the parallelogram *BD* has its base *BC* applied to a line *BF* greater than *BC*, and the parallelogram *BE* is completed, the parallelogram *BD* is said to be in defect, i.e. to come short of *BE*, by the parallelogram *CE*.

Excess (*ὑπερβάλλειν*) is understood in a corresponding manner. This is clearly put in Professor Butcher's article, and by others. Beside Eucl. VI 27, 28 and 29, Pappus VII § 30, Hultsch p. 674, has been quoted for a parallel to the present passage—*χωρίον γάρ τι παρά τινα γραμμὴν παραβαλλόμενον ἐν μὲν τῇ ὀξυγωνίου κώνου τομῇ, ἐλλεῖπον γίνεται τετραγώνῳ*. But it is not necessary to quote such a late writer; for in Euclid himself there are abundant parallels in Bk. X (a book which the interpreters of this passage in the Meno seem generally to have overlooked), where e.g. the expression *παραβάλλειν παραλληλόγραμμον ἐλλεῖπον εἴδει τετραγώνῳ* often occurs.

The next question is how this principle is here applied. In Euclid VI 28, the following problem is solved:—To apply to a given straight line a parallelogram equal in area to a given rectilineal figure, and in defect by a parallelogram similar to a given parallelogram (of course under a certain restriction of magnitude).—*παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν εὐθεῖαν τῷ δοθέντι εὐθυγράμμῳ ἴσον παραλληλόγραμμον παραβαλεῖν ἐλλεῖπον εἴδει*

παραλληλογράμμῳ ὁμοίῳ τῷ δοθέντι, κ.τ.ἑ. The analogy of this to the passage of the Meno before us is striking, and it can be scarcely doubted that a successful interpretation of the text must accord with the main features of the proposition in Euclid. Professor Butcher's interpretation seems to be the only one so far which at all satisfies this condition.

Supposing that the given χωρίον is a rectangle, and the δοθεῖσα γραμμή is the diameter of the given circle—assumptions which will be discussed later on—he takes εἰ μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοιοῦτον, οἷον παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμὴν παρατείναντα ἐλλείπειν τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ, οἷον ἂν αὐτὸ τὸ παρατεταμένον ᾖ to mean 'if the given rectangle when applied to the diameter of the circle is in defect by a rectangle similar to itself.' (This interpretation of τοιούτῳ οἷον in the geometrical sense of 'similar,' is not only the best interpretation of the Greek but agrees with the text of Euclid, where the ἔλλειμα is similar (ὅμοιον) to a given figure.) He then constructs the following argument.

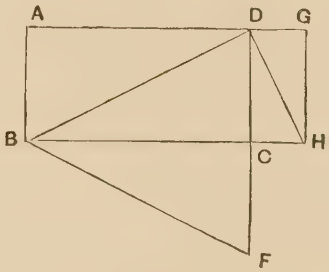

Fig. 2.

The rectangle *ABCD* is the given χωρίον, applied to *BH* which is the diameter of the given circle. Its 'defect' is the rectangle *DCHG*, and the last is similar to *ABCD*. Thus $BC : CD = DC : CH$. Whence $CD^2 = BC \cdot CH$. Hence *D* is a point on the circle of which *BH* is the diameter. If *DC* is produced to meet the circumference again in *F*, $DC = CF$, and therefore the triangle *BDF* inscribed in the circle is equal to the rectangle *ABCD*.

Thus then it is true that if the given rectangle when applied to the diameter of the circle is in defect by a rectangle similar to itself, a triangle can be inscribed in the circle equal to the given rectangle. But, as Professor Butcher says, the solution is imperfect, because even if this condition were not realised, a triangle might be inscribed in the circle with the given area. His words are 'the *χωρίον* can still be inscribed, as required, even if the condition laid down is not fulfilled: the true and necessary condition being that the given area is not greater than that of the equilateral triangle, i.e. the *maximum* triangle which can be inscribed in the given circle.'

He nevertheless defends his interpretation, but the defence can hardly be considered adequate. The seriousness of the imperfection appears clearly if we consider the requirements of the context, to which Prof. Butcher has not quite done justice. The hypothetical treatment of a subject in general is to be illustrated, where different conclusions are drawn from different hypotheses. So Socrates says that if the hypothesis *εἰ μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοιοῦτον κ.τ.λ.* were true, one conclusion could be drawn, and if it were not true another (*καὶ ἄλλο αὖ εἰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι κ.τ.λ.*). But if the hypothesis had the meaning above assigned to it, though a conclusion could be drawn from its truth, if it were not true no conclusion whatever could be drawn, for nothing could be said as to whether the required triangle could be found or not.

One may venture to think that by a more accurate interpretation of the words *παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμὴν παρατείναντα* we can, with the help of Professor Butcher's own figure and theorem, arrive at a satisfactory solution of the puzzle.

We may notice first two peculiarities in the language which, though by no means fatal to such interpretations as Professor Butcher's, suggest that some other may be the right one. If the given figure, the *χωρίον*, were itself applied to the given line we should expect *ἐλλείπειν τοιούτῳ χωρίῳ οἷον ἂν αὐτὸ ᾖ*, not *οἷον ἂν αὐτὸ τὸ παρατεταμένον ᾖ*, and so the addition of *τὸ παρατεταμένον* may have some special point. Again if the rectangle is applied to the diameter it is either in defect

by a parallelogram similar to itself, or it is not. The latter alternative we should expect to be expressed simply by *εἰ δὲ μή*, or *εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἐλλείπει*, but we actually find *εἰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι ταῦτα παθεῖν*, i.e. 'if it is impossible that it should be treated thus,' which is at least a noteworthy circumlocution, and better fitted to express something more of an operation performed upon the *χωρίον*.

Now in Euclid, both in the proposition immediately before us (VI 28) and elsewhere, the phrase *παραβάλλειν παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν εὐθεῖαν*, which corresponds to *παρατείνειν παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν γραμμήν* here, denotes not the application of a given figure directly, and as it is, to the given line, but the application to the line of another figure, viz. a parallelogram, which is equal in area to the given figure. It is true that Plato here actually speaks of applying the given *χωρίον* to the given line, but we may reasonably suspect that this is an abbreviated expression for the application of a parallelogram equal to the *χωρίον*. For in the first place *χωρίον* properly means a figure from the point of view of its area and not of its shape, and therefore *παρατείνειν τόδε τὸ χωρίον παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν γραμμήν*—literally 'to apply the area to the given line'—may well mean 'to apply (a parallelogram of) this area to the given line.' Secondly, there is a fair parallel in this very passage in the words *ἐς τόνδε τὸν κύκλον τόδε τὸ χωρίον τρίγωνον ἐνταθῆναι*. For though it is not intended that the *χωρίον*, as the given figure, should be itself inscribed in the circle *τόδε τὸ χωρίον* is nevertheless the subject of the verb *ἐνταθῆναι*: and just as there the meaning is 'whether this area (*χωρίον*) can be inscribed in a circle in the form of a triangle,' so *παρατείνειν τόδε τὸ χωρίον παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν γραμμήν* may mean 'to apply this area to the given line in the form of a parallelogram.' In the first case the matter is made clear by the addition of *τρίγωνον*, which is necessary, as the formula 'to inscribe in a circle' (*ἐντείνειν* in Plato, *ἐγγράφειν* in Euclid) is not limited to one kind of rectilineal figure: in the second case it was not necessary to add *παραλληλόγραμμον*, if the formula *παρατείνειν* (Eucl. *παραβάλλειν*) *παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν γραμμήν* (Eucl. *εὐθεῖαν*) was confined to the cases where a parallelogram

was applied to a given line, as it is in the language of Euclid.

But the possibility of the proposed interpretation is put beyond all reasonable doubt by the fact that exactly the same technical idiom is found, and found often, in the tenth book of Euclid's Elements. In this book sometimes the full form is used 'to apply to a straight line a parallelogram equal to a given area,' e.g. prop. 62, *παρὰ τὴν* ΔΕ *τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς* ΑΒ *ἴσον παραλληλόγραμμον παραβεβλήσθω*—'apply to the straight line ΔΕ a parallelogram equal to the square on AB.' But the brachylogical form is very common, e.g. prop. 22 (enunciation), *τὸ ἀπὸ μέσης παρὰ ῥητὴν παραβαλλόμενον πλάτος ποιεῖ ῥητήν κ.τ.ἑ.*, i.e. if (a rectangle equal to) the square on a medial line is applied to a rational line its breadth must be a rational line, &c. In the proof of the proposition this is replaced by the full expression *τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς* Λ *ἴσον παρὰ τὴν* ΒΓ *παραβεβλήσθω χωρίον ὀρθογώνιον κ.τ.ἑ.* Compare also props. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 112 and 113. In Pappus also is found *παραβάλλειν ἴσον* (e.g. VII prop. 87, Hultsch p. 806, l. 29; VII 66, 772. 12) and also the brachylogical use without *ἴσον*, cf. VI prop. 33, 544. 8—10 and IV prop. 7, 192. 15.

This interpretation would at once account for the peculiarities above noticed in the language. *οἷον τὸ παρατεταμένον* would be expressly said because the similarity is not to the original figure, but to the parallelogram made equal to it. *ἀδύνατον τοῦτο παθεῖν* also becomes a natural and proper mode of expression because the sense of the whole would be 'If the given area is such that it can be put in the form of a parallelogram which when applied to the given line is in defect by a similar parallelogram, then one result follows; but *if it cannot be treated thus* (i.e. cannot be got into the form of such a parallelogram), another result will follow.

Moreover this rendering, if we assume with Professor Butcher and others that *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν* means the diameter of the given circle (a point to be returned to presently), gives the very kind of alternative hypotheses which the context seems to require. For if it were true that the area could be put in the form of such a parallelogram, a

triangle equal to it could be inscribed in the circle, and if it could not be put in such a form the required triangle could not be found.

This may be easily demonstrated with the help of Professor Butcher's theorem. But it will not be necessary to assume as he does that the *χωρίον* is a rectangle; and this suits Eucl. VI 28 better, for the figure there which corresponds to the *χωρίον* here is any rectilineal figure whatever (*τὸ δοθὲν εὐθύγραμμον*).

In defence of an interpretation which necessitates that *χωρίον* should be a rectangle, it has been maintained that *χωρίον* standing alone as it does here might naturally be intended for a rectangle. For this Hultsch's remarks on the use of *χωρίον* in Pappus have been cited. Really it is more important to refer to the instances similar to those in Pappus which are found in sufficient numbers in Eucl. Bk. X, as Euclid is said to have been a younger contemporary of Aristotle's, while Pappus belongs to the third or fourth century of our era, though it turns out that the usage is much the same as that of Euclid; and, besides, when the evidence from Pappus is examined the conclusion made from it seems overstated.

In the first place *χωρίον* has the general sense of any plane area. Thus in Eucl. II def. 2, *παραλληλόγραμμον χωρίον*; Eucl. II 4, Porism, *τὰ τετράγωνα χωρία*. In Pappus (see Hultsch's Index) *χωρίον* is used of a triangle—*τρίγωνον χωρίον*, VII § 4, Hultsch p. 638. 11, 12, VII § 16, p. 654. 14, VII § 24, 664. 16: of a parallelogram—*παραλληλόγραμμον χωρίον*, III prop. 40, p. 126. 20: of a plane figure bounded by the arc of a semicircle and the arcs of two semicircles described on its diameter, IV prop. 12, 208. 11 (*τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν περιφερειῶν χωρίον*): of an area bounded by an arc and chord of a helix 242. 4, &c.: of an area bounded partly by straight lines and partly by a curve (*τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν* ZBΘ *εὐθειῶν καὶ τῆς* ZHΘ *περιφερείας ἀπολαμβανόμενον χωρίον*), viz. the sector of a circle, IV 22, 240. 17.

Secondly, there are a number of instances in Euclid as in Pappus where *χωρίον* may refer to a rectangle. But (1) there do not seem to be any instances where it really stands alone and has this sense, for there is always something in the formula

or context to shew that a rectangle is meant: and (2) if from such places we could argue to such a use of *χωρίον* we might argue *à fortiori* to a similar use of *παραλληλόγραμμον*.

In Euclid a rectangle is *παραλληλόγραμμον ὀρθογώνιον* (Eucl. II def. 1) or *χωρίον ὀρθογώνιον* (X 22, 23), or *ὀρθογώνιον* (Eucl. II passim). The full phrase for the rectangle contained by two straight lines is *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν* AB BΓ *περιεχόμενον ὀρθογώνιον*, cf. *τὸ περιεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν δύο εὐθειῶν* (Eucl. II passim, Eucl. X 24, 38, 59, 91, 110). This is abbreviated into *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν* AB BΓ, which occurs very often in the Second Book along with the fuller phrases. The abbreviated phrase occurs frequently in Bk. X, but as rectangles are often not necessary for the argument (see below) it is important that in the lemma after prop. 21 the context shews *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθειῶν* must mean a rectangle—*ἐὰν ὦσι δύο εὐθεῖαι, ἔστιν ὡς ἡ πρώτη πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν, οὕτως τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης πρὸς τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν δύο εὐθειῶν*, for since *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης* means the square on the first, *τὸ ὑπὸ κ.τ.ἑ.* must be a rectangle.

Hence probably the phrase *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν* AB BΓ without further addition came to stand for the rectangle contained by AB and BΓ, just as *τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς* AB came to mean the square on AB; and the same terminology is found in Pappus.

This being so a figure described either as *περιεχόμενον ὑπὸ δύο εὐθειῶν*, or simply as *τὸ ὑπὸ δύο εὐθειῶν*, would naturally mean a rectangle in either Euclid or Pappus; and it is on this account, i.e. by the addition of the words *περιεχόμενον ὑπό*, or *ὑπό* merely, which thus imply a rectangle, that *χωρίον* can come to refer to a rectangle. In Euclid X we find *χωρίον* referring almost certainly to a rectangle in the enunciation of props. 92, 93, 94, 95, 96 and 114. The enunciation of 92 begins—*ἐὰν χωρίον περιέχηται ὑπὸ ῥητῆς καὶ ἀποτομῆς*, and the phrase *ἐὰν χωρίον περιέχηται ὑπό* occurs in all of them. As these propositions properly concern algebraic products, it would make no difference to the argument if the areas (*χωρία*) were oblique parallelograms, nor is there any direction in the construction which determines them to be right-angled: a division in one line in these propositions is got by a rectangle and a square, but these figures do not enter into the construction of the

χωρίον or the parallelogram whose sides are parallel to the sides of the χωρίον. Nevertheless it is fairly certain that rectangles are intended, because this is the normal way of representing and measuring areas, and whereas in prop. 93 (enunciation) we have ἐὰν χωρίον περιέχηται ὑπὸ ῥητῆς καὶ ἀποτομῆς τρίτης, ἡ τὸ χωρίον δυναμένη μέσης ἀποτομή ἐστι δευτέρα, in prop. 110 we find τὸ δ' ὑπὸ ῥητῆς καὶ ἀποτομῆς τρίτης περιεχόμενον ὀρθογώνιον. But so far as this reference to a rectangle is implied in the words, it is not by the word χωρίον simply, but through the addition to it of περιέχεσθαι ὑπό. In one place (X 109) χωρία without the addition of περιέχεσθαι ὑπό stands for rectangles, but it is defined by reference to a previous construction. The words are παραβεβλήσθω ὁμοίως τὰ χωρία, i.e. 'let the areas be applied in the same way as before,' and the reference is to the construction in the preceding proposition—παραβεβλήσθω ὀρθογώνιον παραλληλόγραμμον.

There seems then to be no instance of χωρίον standing really by itself for a rectangle.

The same is true of the instances given by Hultsch from Pappus, which therefore do not justify his statement 'passim χωρίον per se rectangulum significat.' The instances are either (i) of the kind in which χωρίον has added to it the defining formula τὸ ὑπό or περιεχόμενον ὑπό, or (ii) refers to a figure so defined, or (iii) is defined otherwise by the context.

(i) VII prop. 123, page 858. 10, χωρίου τοῦ ὑπὸ ΓΑ ΑΔ, so VII prop. 124, p. 860. 1.

IV prop. 3, 182. 25, τὸ ὑπὸ ΗΔΛ χωρίον.

VII prop. 25, 666. 9, εὐθεῖαι...χωρίον περιέχουσαι δεδομένον. Here, it is true, some interpreters suppose χωρίον means 'plane figure,' but Hultsch thinks it is a rectangle, which is made probable by περιέχουσαι. This may be compared with IV prop. 14, 214. 15, τὸ ὑπὸ ΓΒ ΒΚ περιεχόμενον χωρίον.

(ii) VII prop. 14, 694. 18. Here χωρίον refers to a rectangle defined as τὸ ὑπὸ ΑΔΒ.

V prop. 3, 314. 6, καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς περιμέτρου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ κέντρου ἔστω τὸ Ζ χωρίον. Here the χωρίον is defined

as half a rectangle (*τοῦ ὑπὸ κ.τ.ἑ.*); but its shape does not really matter. The references in Hultsch 314. 11, 23, 26, 29, and 316. 3, 12, 13, 16 are all to this same *χωρίον*.

In the instances given of the use of the formula *χωρίον χωρίῳ*, the *χωρία* are the figures contained by the extremes and means in a proportion of four lines, which are understood to be rectangles, and are defined by a following *τὸ ὑπὸ...τῷ ὑπό*, e.g. VII prop. 21, 700. 26, *καὶ χωρίον χωρίῳ* (sc. *ἴσον*)· *τὸ ἄρα ὑπὸ τῶν* ΒΓ ΕΛ *ἴσον τῷ ὑπὸ τῶν* ΓΔΕ.

So also VII prop. 24, 858. 24; VII prop. 124, 860. 17; and VII prop. 201, 952. 1.

VII prop. 193, 946. 21, *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν* ΓΕΒ *τοῦ ὑπὸ* ΓΑΒ *ἔλασσον ἔσται τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ*, may be referred to this head because of *τὸ ὑπό*, but obviously *τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ* need only mean 'by the same area.'

(iii) V prop. 1, 310. 16, *τὰ εἰρημένα χωρία* refers to what have been described in the preceding as *ὀρθογώνια*:—*τὸ ὑπὸ* ΛΘ *καὶ τῆς περιμέτρου τοῦ* ΔΕΖ *περιεχόμενον ὀρθογώνιον*.

The phrase *χωρίον ὑπερβάλλον τετραγώνῳ* in VI prop. 31, 542. 5—6 (VI 33, 542. 10—11 only refers to this same *χωρίον*), is also an instance where *χωρίον* is defined by its context, for only a rectangle can *ὑπερβάλλειν τετραγώνῳ*. Compare the parallel phrase already quoted from Eucl. X—*παραλληλόγραμμον ἐλλεῖπον εἴδει τετραγώνῳ*, where *τετραγώνῳ* shews that the *παραλληλόγραμμον* meant is a rectangle, though *παραλληλόγραμμον* by itself could not have that meaning.

Hultsch says that *χωρίον* in Pappus never has *ὀρθογώνιον* applied to it. But the reason of this, when *χωρίον* refers to a rectangle, is probably not that *χωρίον* itself could mean a rectangle, but that there are other defining words in the context.

But further, while *χωρίον* does not seem to be used either in Euclid or Pappus '*per se*' for a rectangle; on the other hand, if we suppose the areas in Eucl. X to be all rectangles, as is reasonable, then *παραλληλόγραμμον* is used '*per se*' for a rectangle several times (e.g. props. 61, 62, 63) in the phrase *παραβεβλήσθω παρὰ τὴν* ΔΕ *τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς* ΑΒ *ἴσον παραλληλό-*

γραμμον, for παραβάλλειν cannot of itself indicate a rectangle, being used in Eucl. I and VI of the application of a parallelogram in general. Thus if we argued from Euclid's usage in Bk. X that χωρίον put by itself could stand for a rectangle, we might argue *à fortiori* that this would be true for παραλληλόγραμμον, which is obviously inadmissible. Again in Eucl. X, def. 4, we find the quite general εὐθύγραμμα apparently intended at least for parallelograms and probably for rectangles. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προτεθείσης εὐθείας τετράγωνον ῥητόν, καὶ τὰ τούτῳ σύμμετρα ῥητά, τὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἀσύμμετρα ἄλογα καλείσθω, καὶ αἱ δυνάμεναι αὐτὰ ἄλογοι, εἰ μὲν τετράγωνα εἴη, αὐταὶ αἱ πλευραί, εἰ δὲ ἕτερά τινα εὐθύγραμμα, αἱ ἴσα αὐτοῖς τετράγωνα ἀναγράφουσαι.

The fact seems to be that neither εὐθύγραμμον nor παραλληλόγραμμον nor χωρίον could of itself naturally be put for a rectangle, except in a general context like that of Eucl. X, which is understood to be about rectangles, and in the case of χωρίον perhaps not even then without such defining words or reference in the context as have been pointed out.

The problem referred to in the Meno—'to inscribe a triangle in a circle equal to a given area'—is clearly of a quite general character.

The only natural limitation of the area is to that of a rectilineal figure, as the Greeks had no general method of finding the area of a figure wholly or partly bounded by curves, but it would be most unnatural to limit the rectilineal figures to rectangles. Both on this account then and because the rectilineal figure in the analogous proposition in Euclid (VI 28) is not limited to be a rectangle, it must be an advantage in a proposed solution that it is not necessary to make the χωρίον a rectangle.

Assume then the question to be whether a triangle can be inscribed in a given circle equal to a given rectilineal figure. The condition, Professor Butcher says, is that the given figure should not be greater than the equilateral triangle inscribed in the given circle. Rather this is one way of putting the condition. There is another way, in which no mention is made of the equilateral triangle, and from which the fact that

the equilateral triangle is the greatest triangle inscribable in the circle can be deduced; and it is exactly this other way which is referred to in the text of Plato before us.

If a scalene triangle is inscribed in a circle, an isosceles triangle, equal to it, can obviously be inscribed in the same circle. Thus if a triangle can be inscribed in a given circle equal to a given rectilineal figure, an isosceles triangle can be inscribed in the circle equal to the given figure.

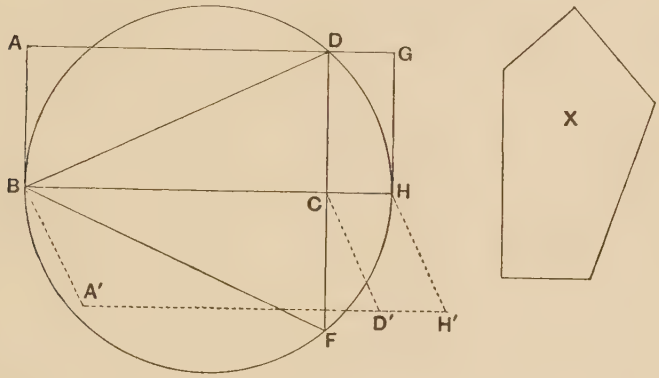

Fig. 3.

Let X be the rectilineal figure, or the given *χωρίον*.

Suppose the isosceles triangle BDF inscribed in the circle is equal to X in area, BD being $= BF$.

Let BH be the diameter of the circle which bisects the straight line DF in C at right angles. Complete the parallelograms AC and CG. Then AC obviously $= BDF = X$. By the property of the circle $BC \cdot CH = CD^2$,

$\therefore$ $BC : CD :: CD : CH$,

$\therefore$ the parallelogram CG is similar to the parallelogram AC.

Consequently if a triangle can be inscribed in a circle equal in area to a given rectilineal figure, it must be possible to find a rectangle equal to the given rectilineal figure, such that when applied to the diameter of the given circle it is in defect by a rectangle similar to itself; and if such a rectangle cannot be found the required triangle cannot be found. Clearly also if such a rectangle can be found, the triangle can be found. It is

then a sufficient and necessary condition, and the main requirements of the text both as regards the geometrical problem and the logical point to be illustrated by it are satisfied.

If we suppose then the applied parallelogram to be a rectangle—a reasonable, but, as will be shewn, not a necessary assumption—the sense of the text will be this:—

'If the area is such that (a rectangular parallelogram equal 'to it) applied to the given diameter is in defect by a figure 'similar to this applied parallelogram, one thing results [viz. 'that a triangle equal to the given area can be inscribed in the 'circle]; and if it is impossible that the area should be so 'treated [i.e. if it cannot be put into the form of such a 'parallelogram], another thing results [viz. that the required 'triangle cannot be found].'

The text however says nothing about a rectangle, and in the analogous proposition of Euclid (VI 28) the applied figure is a parallelogram in general. It may therefore perhaps seem an improvement in the solution if the applied figure need not be restricted to a rectangle.

The word *παραβάλλειν*, of which *παρατείνειν* is here the equivalent, is often used in Euclid, Bk. X, where, though no figure is specified, a rectangle is probably intended: but very much the same thing is true about this as about the use of *χωρίον* for a rectangle.

παραβάλλειν refers to the application of a parallelogram in general in Eucl. I 44, VI 27, 28, 29, the word *παραλληλόγραμμον* being added. It refers also to the application of a rectangle, sometimes with the addition of *ὀρθογώνιον παραλληλόγραμμον* (Eucl. X 25, 26, 44, 108) or of *χωρίον ὀρθογώνιον* (X 22, 23) or of *ὀρθογώνιον* (X 111): sometimes with *παραλληλόγραμμον* alone, in a context where the parallelogram is naturally understood to be a rectangle, of which instances have been given above. But it is also used in Eucl. X without any words describing the form of the figure applied—including the brachylogical use where the figure applied is not the one said to be applied but one equal to it: and where this is so, though the demonstration might be by oblique parallelograms and the construction of a rectangle is not prescribed, the natural impli-

cation is that a rectangle is meant, and in one case there is evidence of this in the context. In Eucl. x 20, after the enunciation *ἐὰν ῥητὸν παρὰ ῥητὴν παραβληθῇ*, follows a construction in which on a side of the applied parallelogram a square is constructed, two sides of which the proof shews must be in the same straight line with two sides of the parallelogram, and so the latter must be a rectangle.

The restriction natural in the tenth book of Euclid, where areas are really only devices for measuring products, is not natural in a truly geometrical problem like that in the Meno; but without going so far as to affirm that a rectangle cannot be here specially meant, we can at least give a proof which does not involve the restriction.

In Fig. 3, suppose the oblique-angled parallelogram $A'BCD'$ is equal to a given rectilineal figure Y, and that applied to the diameter BH it is in defect by the parallelogram CH' similar to itself. Through C draw the chord FCD perpendicular to BH. Complete the parallelogram AC, and join BD, BF.

Then by similar parallelograms $CD'^2 = BC \,.\, CH = CD^2$. $\therefore\ CD = CD'$. Thus the perpendicular from C on $A'H'$ is less than CD. $\therefore$ the parallelogram BD' is less than the parallelogram BD. But a triangle BDF is inscribed in the circle equal to BD. Hence *à fortiori* a triangle can be inscribed in the circle equal to BD' and therefore equal to Y.

Thus if a parallelogram, oblique-angled or right-angled, equal to a given rectilineal figure can be found which when applied to the diameter is in defect by a parallelogram similar to itself, a triangle can be inscribed in the circle equal to the given rectilineal figure. And it still remains true that if no such parallelogram can be found the required triangle cannot be found.

It is evident that if the given area is less than the greatest triangle inscribable in the circle, the parallelogram may be oblique-angled or right-angled, if it is equal to the greatest triangle the parallelogram must be right-angled.

The meaning given to *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν* must now be considered. Several investigators have independently conjectured that it is the diameter of the circle. The straight

lines which might possibly be conceived as 'given lines' in the problem are the diameter of the circle and the base of the given *χωρίον*. In favour of the latter might seem to be the pronoun *αὐτοῦ*, which would naturally refer to *χωρίον*. But (1) though 'the given line' might be put for the base of the figure if it was definitely given as a triangle, for instance, or parallelogram, or regular polygon, it is very unlikely that it would have this meaning if the figure might be any rectilineal figure in general, which is probably what Plato contemplated. (2) It would be strange to speak of a figure as applied to its own base, even in the elliptic sense of having a parallelogram equal to itself applied to its base. But supposing this conceded as possible there remains an insuperable difficulty. To apply such a parallelogram to the base of the given figure would bring it in no relation to the circle, and in no way contribute to the solution of the problem. It must therefore be contended that if the pronoun *αὐτοῦ* makes it difficult to refer *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν* to the diameter, it is on the other hand impossible to refer it to the base of the given figure, even if any line of it could naturally be chosen as the base.

Further it is much in favour of the interpretation of *ἡ δοθεῖσα γραμμή* as the diameter, that with it the problem works out so neatly; and that this might be seen the better, the question of the meaning of *ἡ δοθεῖσα γραμμή* has been postponed till after the solution had been worked out.

As to *αὐτοῦ*, Professor Butcher says this must refer to *κύκλου* because the sense requires it. He admits the awkwardness of the reference, but thinks the use of *αὐτοῦ* is sufficiently vague to account for it. But nothing short of an unmistakable parallel passage would bring conviction, for the grammatical difficulty is no ordinary one. Not only is *χωρίον* the subject of the clause in which *αὐτοῦ* occurs, but it is the principal logical subject of the preceding context in which *κύκλος* occurs —*οἷον περὶ χωρίου κ.τ.λ.* And it is the principal subject of what follows; it is the subject of *παθεῖν* and is referred to by *αὐτοῦ* in the following sentence—*περὶ τῆς ἐντάσεως αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸν κύκλον*. The last *αὐτοῦ* is important as shewing that *χωρίον* is all along the principal subject in the writer's mind.

The only natural reference of the first *αὐτοῦ* is to *χωρίον*, and it may be suggested that this is the reference really intended, and that all that is required is a new interpretation of the phrase *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν*. Since *χωρίον* is the principal subject throughout, such an expression as *ἐς τὸν δοθέντα αὐτοῦ κύκλον ἐνταθέν*, for instance, 'inscribed in *its* given circle,' seems quite possible and would be understood without difficulty to mean 'inscribed in the circle given in *its case*—for it to be inscribed in.' If this is so we may equally well interpret *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν* to mean '*its* given line,' not in the sense of some line in the given figure itself, but in the sense of 'the line given in its case,' or 'given for it,' i.e. the line given in respect of which some operation is to be performed on the given figure.

There is another grammatical difficulty in the text which however does not affect the interpretation of the geometrical problem.

Since *παρατείναντα* cannot well be subject to the verb *ἐλλείπειν*, the soundness of the text has been questioned. Stallbaum conjectures *παρατεῖναν*, taken intransitively, but the active is confirmed by the parallel phrase *παραβαλεῖν παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν εὐθεῖαν* and similar expressions in Euclid. It has also been asserted that the difficulty in the accusative *παρατείναντα* is insuperable, and that the simplest construction would be the dative. But the text is doubtless sound, and only an instance of a Platonic idiom. Compare Riddell's Digest of Platonic Idioms, § 271 *b*, 'Inversion of Construction.' One of the examples there quoted is a parallel to this.—Apol. 21 C, *διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ μοι οὗτος ὁ ἀνήρ κ.τ.ἑ.* We have then here only to understand the *dativus commodi αὐτῷ* after *ἐλλείπειν*.

After the substance of this paper had been communicated to a philosophical society in Oxford, there came into the writer's hands a new treatment of the passage by Professor Apelt, which had just appeared in the volume published in honour of Prof. Theodor Gomperz (Festschrift Theodor Gom-

perz dargebracht, &c., p. 290 ff.). He takes *τόδε τὸ χωρίον τρίγωνον* for the triangular area, apparently feeling no difficulty about the order of the words. *τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτοῦ γραμμήν* he takes for the base of this triangle; he supposes that a rectangle equal to the triangle is applied to its base, and that the height of the rectangle is equal to the base. The writer regrets that he must differ fundamentally from so well known an authority, and the remainder of the explanation need not be here detailed, but a reference is necessary to one important point of agreement, for Apelt too supposes that *παρατείνειν* refers to the construction of a figure—with him a rectangle—equal to the given *χωρίον*. This use, we have seen, involves an ellipse of the kind of figure constructed (parallelogram), and a brachylogy whereby a figure is said to be applied to a straight line with the meaning that another figure equal to it is applied. For the latter—the brachylogy—he does not offer any evidence, or indeed draw any attention to it. But on the former point—the ellipse of a word for parallelogram (or rectangle)—he has some remarks which, though in essentials true, seem to require some readjustment. After referring to Eucl. VI 27, 28 and 29, he continues—"By this expression [*παραβάλλειν*] Euclid designates the construction of a parallelogram and rectangle, and so exclusively that *παραβάλλειν* by itself, without the addition of *παραλληλόγραμμον*, signifies the construction of a rectangle on a given straight line, and is expressly used to designate the transformation of a triangle into a rectangle equal to it by the application of it to the base of the triangle. Cf. Eucl. I 44, VI 25. To prove that the independent technical use of *παραβάλλειν* by itself for 'construct a rectangle' is not found in Euclid alone, I can quote a place from the little known pseudo-Aristotelian treatise De lineis insecabilibus, 970[a] 5, *ἔτι εἰ ἡ παρὰ τὴν μείζω τὸ πλάτος ποιεῖ παραβαλλομένη, τὸ ἴσον τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτόμου καὶ τῆς ποδιαίας παραβαλλόμενον παρὰ τὴν διπλῆν* [v. l. *διποδίαν*] *ἔλαττον ποιήσει τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἀμεροῦς.*"

Through some accident or inadvertence this gives a misleading impression. In the proposition referred to—Eucl. VI 25—for the application of a rectangle equal to a triangle to

the base of the latter, the applied figure is not a rectangle but a parallelogram in general. Moreover, neither in this proposition nor in any of the others quoted (Eucl. VI 27, 28, 29; I 44), is *παραβάλλειν* used by itself, but *παραλληλόγραμμον* is always added, and in none of them is it a rectangle. As seen above, the statement that *παραβάλλειν* by itself is used in Euclid for the construction of a rectangle is true, but the evidence for it comes from the tenth book of Euclid, to which, by some oversight, no reference is made throughout Apelt's article. This is the more important because in Eucl. X *παραβάλλειν* only refers to the construction of a rectangle, because the general context of the book, as has been explained, is understood to be about rectangles, and it could not be inferred therefore that apart from such a context *παραβάλλειν* would naturally imply the construction of a rectangle.

This applies to the passage quoted from the De lin. insec., which concerns a subject of constant occurrence in Eucl. X, viz. the variation of the breadth (*πλάτος*) of a rectangle of constant area according to the length of the line to which it is applied, for this is a mere question of products measured in the usual way by rectangular areas. It will be noted that the passages only illustrate the ellipse of a word for rectangle and not the idiom of brachylogy, for it is not said that the given figure is applied to a given line, but that a figure equal to it is applied.

The first clause of it is, with the reading given, not relevant to either point, for *παραβαλλομένη* agrees with *γραμμή* (or *εὐθεῖα*) understood. But a suggestion may be made which one may venture to hope will not be inacceptable to Professor Apelt, who has so carefully edited the De lin. insec. himself. The text seems corrupt, and without professing to restore the exact words of the original it seems possible to determine what kind of sense the original must have had. The object of the passage is to prove that the supposed indivisible line is divisible because a line can be found less than it. The argument is clearly as follows. Suppose a rectangle contained by an 'indivisible' line and a line one foot long (*τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτόμου καὶ τῆς ποδιαίας*). Apply a rectangle of the same area (*ἴσον*)

to a line two feet long as its length, then the breadth of this rectangle must be less than that of the first rectangle and so less than the indivisible line (ἔλαττον ποιήσει τὸ πλάτος τῆς ἀμεροῦς), for if a rectangle equal to another be applied to a longer line (παρὰ τὴν μείζω), i.e. have a greater length than that other, the second rectangle must have a less breadth than the first.

The first clause then of the Greek must have been something very like this—ἔτι εἰ τὸ ἴσον παρὰ τὴν μείζω ἐλάττω τὸ πλάτος ποιεῖ παραβαλλόμενον.

It is a question also whether τῷ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀτόμου should not be read in the second clause for τῷ ἀπὸ κ. τ. ἑ. For, as above explained, ὑπό indicates the rectangle contained by two lines and ἀπό the square on a line. Cp. in the same treatise 970[a] 14—15, where τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀτόμου means the square on the indivisible line, and τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς διαμέτρου χωρίον the square on the diameter.

If the interpretation here proposed for the passage in the Meno finds favour, it will be recognised that the most important step in the solution is that contributed by Professor Butcher.

J. COOK WILSON.

ARISTOTELIA. IV.

De Caelo I. 12, 282[a] 28: *ἀγένητον μὲν ὃ ἔστι νῦν, καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἀληθὲς ἦν εἰπεῖν τὸ μὴ εἶναι, ἄφθαρτον δὲ ὃ νῦν ὂν ὕστερον μὴ ἀληθὲς ἔσται εἰπεῖν μὴ εἶναι.*

Perhaps we should restore: *εἰπεῖν τοῦτο μὴ εἶναι*—the demonstrative being in lieu of a repeated relative, as it so often is in Aristotle as well as other writers.

De Caelo II. 12, 292[a] 24: *ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σώματος τὸ μὲν οὐδὲ γυμναζόμενον εὖ ἔχει, τὸ δὲ μικρὰ περιπατῆσαν, τῷ δὲ καὶ δρόμου δεῖ καὶ πάλης καὶ κονίσεως.*

Bonitz (Ind. 403[b] 8) is evidently not quite satisfied with the reading *κονίσεως*, as he thinks it worth while to mention a very improbable v. l. *κινήσεως*, which Bekker found in two of his MSS. It may perhaps be thought that *κόνισις* refers either to the process of bedusting themselves which wrestlers underwent before the wrestling began, or to their rolling in the dust (*κονίεσθαι*, Galen Protrept. 13), or getting covered with dust in the course of the contest. Aristotle, however, can hardly be thinking of anything of this kind, as it is clear that, whatever the word he may have used, he must have meant not a mere accessory of or incident in wrestling (*πάλη*), but a distinct form of exercise. It seems to me, therefore, that *καὶ κονίσεως* must be a corruption; and I would suggest that the original reading was probably *κἀκοντίσεως*. Throwing the javelin is an athletic exercise even in Homer (Il. XXIII. 622); and in later times it was part of the pentathlon, and also (as one may see from Antiphon) one of the regular exercises of the Athenian youth. This, however, is, as far as I know, the

earliest recognition of it as a means of keeping oneself in health.

De Caelo II. 13, 294[a] 12: *τάχα γὰρ ἀλυποτέρας διανοίας τὸ μὴ θαυμάζειν πῶς ποτὲ μικρὸν μὲν μόριον τῆς γῆς, ἂν μετεωρισθὲν ἀφεθῇ, φέρεται καὶ μένειν οὐκ ἐθέλει, καὶ τὸ πλεῖον ἀεὶ θᾶττον, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν γῆν εἴ τις ἀφείη μετεωρίσας, οὐκ ἂν φέροιτο. νῦν δὲ ἠρεμεῖ τοσοῦτον βάρος.*

Perhaps *τοσοῦτον <ὂν> βάρος*, so that the subject of *ἠρεμεῖ* may be *πᾶσα ἡ γῆ*.

De Caelo IV. 1, 308[a] 31: *πρὸς ἄλλο δὲ κοῦφον καὶ κουφότερον, ὃ δυοῖν ἐχόντων βάρος καὶ τὸν ὄγκον ἴσον κάτω φέρεται θάτερον φύσει θᾶττον.*

Read *θατέρου*. The genitive seems to be required to indicate the other term (*πρὸς ἄλλο*), by comparison with which the thing is said to be light, or lighter.

De Gen. et Corr. II. 11, 337[b] 1: *σκεπτέον πότερον ἔστι τι ὃ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔσται, ἢ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἐνδέχεται μὴ γενέσθαι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἔνια δῆλον· καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ ἔσται καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἕτερον διὰ τοῦτο· ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἔσται, δεῖ τοῦτο εἶναί ποτε ἀληθὲς ὅτι ἔστιν κτέ.*

As the text stands, *τὸ ἔσται* ought to mean 'the word *ἔσται*,' but that cannot be what Aristotle intended, as he goes on to say not *τὸ μέλλει* but *τὸ μέλλον*. He is thinking in fact not of words but of things. I suspect, therefore, that a letter has dropped out, and that the primitive reading here was *τὸ <ὃ> ἔσται*.

De Sensu 2, 438[b] 12: *ἤδη γάρ τισι πληγεῖσιν ἐν πολέμῳ παρὰ τὸν κρόταφον οὕτως ὥστ' ἐκτμηθῆναι τοὺς πόρους τοῦ ὄμματος ἔδοξε γενέσθαι σκότος ὥσπερ λύχνου ἀποσβεσθέντος, διὰ τὸ οἷον λαμπτῆρά τινα ἀποτμηθῆναι τὸ διαφανές, τὴν καλουμένην κόρην.*

Aristotle is arguing to show that the seat of vision is not in the eye itself, but in something at some distance behind it. Having no idea of an optic nerve (v. Philippson, *Ὕλη ἀνθρωπίνη*, p. 15), he imagines that there are certain *πόροι* or ducts running back from the eye to the cerebrum or cere-

bellum. What he urges here is that a wound in the region of the temple may injure the *πόροι* connecting the eye, or rather the pupil (*τὴν καλουμένην κόρην*), and the organ of vision in the interior. Such a wound, however, would not 'cut out' the *πόροι*, but only sever them. *ὥστ' ἐκτμηθῆναι* is apparently a mere scribe's error for *ὥστε τμηθῆναι*.

De Sensu 6, 446ª 7: *καὶ γὰρ ἐνυπάρχει δυνάμει ἡ ποδιαία τῇ δίποδι, ἐνεργείᾳ δ' ἤδη διαιρεθεῖσα.*

Read *διαιρεθείσῃ* (scil. *τῇ δίποδι*).

De Memoria 1, 450ª 12: *ἡ δὲ μνήμη καὶ ἡ τῶν νοητῶν οὐκ ἄνευ φαντάσματός ἐστιν. ὥστε τοῦ νοουμένου κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἂν εἴη, καθ' αὑτὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου αἰσθητικοῦ.*

In lieu of *νοουμένου* Zeller has suggested *νοοῦντος* (or *νοῦ*); and Biehl restores *νοητικοῦ*, as implied in the old Latin version, which has *intellectivi*. It would be simpler, I think, to write *διανοουμένου*. The opposition here between *τὸ αἰσθητικὸν* and *τὸ διανοούμενον* will be like that between *αἰσθάνεσθαι* and *διανοεῖσθαι*, which is found in more than one passage in Aristotle (Bon. Ind. 185ᵇ 2).

De Somno 1, 454ᵇ 22: *εἰ δέ τῳ πιθανὸς ὁ λεχθεὶς λόγος, τούτῳ πεισθήσεται.*

Read *τοῦτο πεισθήσεται.*

De Insomniis 3, 460ᵇ 28: *φανερὸν ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐγρηγορότων αἱ κινήσεις αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθημάτων γινόμεναι τῶν τε θύραθεν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐνυπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν γένηται τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ὃ καλεῖται ὕπνος, καὶ μᾶλλον τότε φαίνονται.*

I fail to see how *ἐνυπαρχουσῶν* is to be understood, and suspect that it must be a mere miswriting for *ἐνυπάρχουσιν*. It may be observed that in the paraphrase of the passage in Priscianus Lydus (p. 61. 1 ed. Berol.), the word corresponding to this is *remanent*, and that there is nothing to indicate the presence of a participle in the Greek original.

De Long. et Brev. Vitae 3, 465ᵇ 23: *ἡ ἐλάττων φλὸξ κατακάεται ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅτι ἡ τροφὴ ἣν ἐκείνη ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ ἀναλίσκει, τὸν καπνόν, ταύτην ἡ πολλὴ φλὸξ ταχύ.*

We may remove the anomaly here, and also explain the apposition of *τὸν καπνόν*, by restoring *ἣν τροφὴν*, for the traditional *ἡ τροφὴ ἦν*.

De Long. et Brev. Vitae 5, 466ª 18: *τὸ ζῷόν ἐστι φύσει ὑγρὸν καὶ θερμόν, καὶ τὸ ζῆν τοιοῦτον, τὸ δὲ γῆρας ψυχρὸν καὶ ξηρόν, καὶ τὸ τεθνηκός· φαίνεται γὰρ οὕτως. ὕλη δὲ τῶν σωμάτων τοῖς οὖσι ταῦτα, τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρόν, καὶ τό ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρόν. ἀνάγκη τοίνυν γηράσκοντα ξηραίνεσθαι.*

There are no doubt some few passages (E. N. VI. 7, 1141ª 32; E. E. I. 7, 1217ª 27) in which *ὄντα* seems to be practically the same thing as *ζῶντα*; but it is very difficult to believe that *τῶν σωμάτων τὰ ὄντα* can really mean *τῶν σωμάτων τὰ ζῶντα*. The right word here being *τοιούτοις* rather than *οὖσι*, I venture to think that *τοῖς οὖσι* may be a relic of some such reading as *τοῖς τοιούτοις*.

Metaph. A. 1, 981ª 5: *γίνεται δὲ τέχνη, ὅταν ἐκ πολλῶν τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐννοημάτων μία καθόλου γένηται περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ὑπόληψις. τὸ γὰρ ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν ὅτι Καλλίᾳ κάμνοντι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον τοδὶ συνήνεγκε καὶ Σωκράτει καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον οὕτω πολλοῖς ἐμπειρίας ἐστίν. τὸ δ' ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῖσδε, κατ' εἶδος ἓν ἀφορισθεῖσι, κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον συνήνεγκε, οἷον τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσιν ἢ πυρέττουσι καύσῳ, τέχνης.*

Aristotle here, as in several passages in other writings, gives us an instance from medicine, in order to show the difference between *τέχνη* and *ἐμπειρία*. The empirical judgment in medicine is said to be in the form, 'This has done good to Callias, to Socrates, and to a number of others, when suffering from this disease,' and the scientific judgment in the form, 'This has done good to all men of a certain kind (i.e. of a certain type or constitution), when suffering from this disease.' The designation of the disease (*κάμνοντι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον*) and also that of the remedy (*τοδὶ συνήνεγκε*) are common to the two judgments; the only difference between them is in the designation of the persons—the scientific judgment substituting some generic term (comp. *τοῖς τοιοῖσδε*), taken universally (*πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῖσδε*), in lieu of the series of individuals—

Socrates, Callias and the rest, whose names appear in the corresponding empirical judgment. So far the sense of the statement is clear enough; but there is to my mind no little difficulty in the illustration at the end of the passage:

οἷον τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσιν ἢ πυρέττουσι καύσῳ.

If this is to correspond, as it should, with the original formula, *τοῖς τοιοῖσδε κάμνουσι τηνδὶ τὴν νόσον*, we must excise the *ἢ* before *πυρέττουσι*. This change in the text is, it seems to me, absolutely demanded by the logic of the statement. The circumstantial participle, *πυρέττουσι καύσῳ*, is wanted to describe the particular malady; and the nouns to which it is appended, *τοῖς φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσιν*, to represent the kinds of persons (i.e. the kinds of constitutions), for which in maladies of this sort a remedy of this particular nature is supposed to be appropriate. One must always think twice before disagreeing with Bonitz, but it seems to me that he is in this instance distinctly wrong in supposing *φλεγματώδεσιν*, *χολώδεσιν* and *πυρέττουσι* to be three coordinate terms designating three kinds of sufferers (*εἴδη τινὰ νοσούντων*, Ind. 824ª 15). *πυρέττουσι καύσῳ* no doubt implies an actual illness, but that cannot be said of *φλεγματώδεσιν ἢ χολώδεσιν*; these two terms refer not to actual maladies but to constitutions, or, as the ancients said, temperaments; the literal translation of the words in fact is 'men of a phlegmatic or of a bilious constitution.' In ancient medical theory *φλέγμα* (= pituita) and *χολή* play a leading part, the predominance of the one producing the 'phlegmatic,' that of the other the 'bilious' constitution. In the language of Hippocrates the individuals exemplifying these two types of constitution are termed *φλεγματίαι* and *χολώδεις*. That Aristotle should use *φλεγματώδεις* and *χολώδεις* in the same sense was natural enough; and there is distinct evidence of this use of the two terms in writings of the Aristotelian school, if not in the other works of Aristotle himself. In Probl. I. 9—12, 860ª 12 sqq., where the writer follows Hippocrates so closely as to borrow at times the very words of his *De aere, aquis, locis*, *φλεγματώδεις* and *χολώδεις* are regularly used where Hippocrates himself had said *φλεγματίαι* and *χολώδεις*.

But if the two words are to bear the same sense in the present passage of the Metaphysics, as it seems to me that they ought, on grounds of language as well as logic, it becomes necessary, as I have said, to bracket the intrusive ἢ before πυρέττουσι.

Metaph. A. 8, 988^{b} 28: ἔτι δὲ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν μηθενὸς αἰτίαν τιθέναι, μηδὲ τὸ τί ἐστι· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ ῥᾳδίως τῶν ἁπλῶν σωμάτων λέγειν ἀρχὴν ὁτιοῦν πλὴν γῆς, οὐκ ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὴν ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσιν πῶς ποιοῦνται.

This is part of an enumeration of the errors of the early physicists, who have just been said to be wrong in many ways —δῆλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς ἁμαρτάνουσιν (^{b}24). The sense of the passage before us is clearer than the construction; it is far from easy to see how the statements τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν...τιθέναι and τὸ ῥᾳδίως λέγειν are brought in. The ordinary view, which even Bonitz accepts, is that ἁμάρτημά ἐστι, or something of the same kind, is to be understood from the ἁμαρτάνουσιν in ^{b}24. This interpretation is perhaps a little too artificial; but apart from that, the case of the participle ἐπισκεψάμενοι seems fatal to it. I would suggest that understanding ἁμαρτάνουσιν from ^{b}24, which is the natural word to supply, we should restore τῷ τὴν οὐσίαν for τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν in ^{b}28, and τῷ ῥᾳδίως for τὸ ῥᾳδίως in ^{b}29.

Metaph. A. 9, 991^{a} 2: καὶ εἰ μὲν ταὐτὸ εἶδος τῶν ἰδεῶν καὶ τῶν μετεχόντων, ἔσται τι κοινόν· τί γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν δυάδων καὶ τῶν πολλῶν μὲν ἀϊδίων δὲ τὸ δυὰς εἶναι ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν, ἢ ἐπί τ' αὐτῆς [so Bonitz] καὶ τῆς τινός; εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶδος, ὁμώνυμα ἂν εἴη.

As far as I can discover, τὸ δυὰς εἶναι (the reading of A^{b}) has been passed without question by all the editors, though the εἶναι here is wanting in some of the MSS. (notably in that known as E), and also in the repetition of this statement in Metaph. M. 4, 1079^{a} 35. τὸ δυὰς εἶναι has been variously rendered by the interpreters. Bessarion, connecting τὸ δυὰς εἶναι with what follows, translates it by 'dualitatem esse unum et idem'—just as though τὸ δυάδα εἶναι were the reading in the Greek text. In more recent times it has been usual to suppose that τὸ δυὰς εἶναι has a more technical sense, and that it is to

be taken in fact as equivalent to *τὸ δυάδι εἶναι*. Pierron and Zévort render it by 'le caractère constitutif de la dyade'—with a note to explain that it means 'ce qui fait que la dyade est une dyade, son essence.' Schwegler represents it by 'die Zweiheit'; Bonitz in his version (comp. his commentary, p. 115) by 'das Wesen Zweiheit zu sein'; and the anonymous Cambridge translator by 'the Reality or Essence of the Dyad.' No one of these interpreters, however, has told us on what principle of Aristotelian or other grammar the nominative *δυὰς* is to be explained in a context like that which we have before us. If one may ignore the *εἶναι* for the moment, the natural meaning of *τὸ δυάς* would be 'the word *δυάς*'; and as a matter of fact this is the rendering of Argyropylus, who has 'dualitatis praedicatio' in his version of this passage. Alexander also must have taken much the same view, to judge from the language he uses in his expansion of the Aristotelian statement:—

> *εἰ δὲ τούτων ἓν καὶ ταὐτὸν ἡ δυὰς κατηγορεῖται* (p. 93, 22 ed. Berol.).
>
> *κατηγορούντων ἡμῶν κοινῶς κατὰ πάντων αὐτῶν ὁμοίως τὴν δυάδα* (93, 25).
>
> *κοινῶς τὸ δυὰς κατηγορηθήσεται* (96, 2).

Ancient authority, therefore, as well as considerations of language, is against the now dominant view of the formula in this passage. *τὸ δυάς*, both here and in Metaph. M. 4, must mean 'the word *δυάς*.' What are we to do, then, with the *εἶναι* that follows it? As it does not look like an emblema—for no reason can be seen for the insertion of the word—I venture to suggest that it is a corruption, possibly a very early corruption, of *σημαίνει*, and that the clause should be read thus: *τὸ δυάς σημαίνει ἓν καὶ ταὐτόν*—'the word *δυάς* means one and the same thing,' in these two applications of the term. The alternative hypothesis, that the term does not 'mean one and the same thing,' so that the objects to which it is applied must be held to be mere *ὁμώνυμα*, is considered in the context in the next sentence.

Rhet. I. 1, 1354ª 6: *τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν οἱ μὲν εἰκῇ ταῦτα δρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ διὰ συνήθειαν ἀπὸ ἕξεως. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρως ἐνδέχεται, δῆλον ὅτι εἴη ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν.*

In order to show the possibility of a regular art of rhetoric, Aristotle argues that, as success in speeches is sometimes due to chance (*εἰκῇ*), and sometimes a matter of mere practice (*διὰ συνήθειαν*), there must in the nature of things be a third possibility, which is indicated (as our texts have it) by the concluding words *εἴη ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ ὁδοποιεῖν*. Although it appears, as far as my knowledge extends, in all editions, *ὁδοποιεῖν* is hardly the right word in this connexion, as its normal meaning in Aristotle, as in other writers, would be to 'make a road,' to 'pioneer' or 'prepare a way' for others. From the critical note in Roemer's edition I learn that the reading of A^{c} is not *ὁδοποιεῖν* but *ὁδωποιεῖν*—which may be taken to represent *ὁδῷ ποιεῖν*. I would read, therefore, *ὁδῷ ποιεῖν*, which is much the same thing as *τέχνῃ ποιεῖν*, as *ὁδῷ* may very well mean in Aristotle 'via ac ratione' (see Bon. Ind. 496ª 56), which is clearly the third of the three possibilities.

Rhet. I. 1, 1355ª 20: *χρήσιμος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ ῥητορικὴ διά τε τὸ φύσει εἶναι κρείττω τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ δίκαια τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥστε ἐὰν μὴ κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον αἱ κρίσεις γίγνωνται, ἀνάγκη δι' αὐτῶν ἡττᾶσθαι.*

Read: *δι' αὑτῶν*, 'sua culpa,' the reflexive referring back to the implied subject of *ἡττᾶσθαι*, i.e. the speakers or pleaders.

Rhet. I. 1, 1355ª 29: *ἔτι δὲ τἀναντία δεῖ δύνασθαι πείθειν... οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφότερα πράττωμεν (οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὰ φαῦλα πείθειν), ἀλλ' ἵνα μήτε λανθάνῃ πῶς ἔχει, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλου χρωμένου μὴ δικαίως τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς λύειν ἔχωμεν.*

So the text stands in A^{c}. Roemer, following Spengel, brackets *τοῖς λόγοις*, but it would be simpler to transpose and read *τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις*, which yields an equally good, if not a better sense. The true rhetor, says Aristotle, must be able to argue on both sides, on the wrong as well as on the right side of the question, so as to have an answer ready, when the same arguments (*τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις*) are put forward by an opponent.

Rhet. I. 5, 1360ᵇ 31: *εὐγένεια μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἔθνει μὲν καὶ*

πόλει τὸ αὐτόχθονας ἢ ἀρχαίους εἶναι, καὶ ἡγεμόνας τοὺς πρώτους ἐπιφανεῖς...ἰδίᾳ δὲ εὐγένεια ἢ ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ἢ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν, καὶ γνησιότης ἀπ' ἀμφοῖν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως τούς τε πρώτους γνωρίμους κτέ.

We should perhaps restore: *<τὸ> τούς τε πρώτους γνωρίμους.*

Rhet. I. 5, 1361^{b} 18: *μεγέθους δὲ ἀρετὴ τὸ ὑπερέχειν κατὰ μῆκος καὶ βάθος καὶ πλάτος τῶν πολλῶν τοσούτῳ μείζονι ὥστε μὴ βραδυτέρας ποιεῖν τὰς κινήσεις διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολήν.*

I would suggest: *τὸ ὑπάρχειν...τοσούτῳ μείζον'. ὑπάρχειν* and *ὑπερέχειν* are confused even in A^{c} in Rhet. I. 7, 1365^{b} 12.

Rhet. I. 8, 1365^{b} 22: *μέγιστον δὲ καὶ κυριώτατον ἁπάντων πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πείθειν καὶ καλῶς συμβουλεύειν τὰς πολιτείας ἁπάσας λαβεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἑκάστης ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέροντα διελεῖν.*

It is generally acknowledged that *ἔθος* and *ἦθος* are two words very apt to be confused in MSS. In the present instance *ἔθη* is a suprascribed correction, though apparently by the original hand (v. Roemer ad loc.); the reading in the actual text is *ἤθη*, which seems to me to be in such a connexion the right and proper word to use. If we adopt it here, it is obviously necessary to correct *ἔθη* into *ἤθη* in the repetition of the formula in the following context, *τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἑκάστης ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα καὶ συμφέροντα διαιρετέον* (1366^{a} 7). The need for this change is shown by what Aristotle says himself at the end of this paragraph (as also in the summary in the next), where he reasserts his main point, the importance of a clear idea of the *ἦθος* of each kind of polity, on the ground that in a political oration the *ἦθος* of the speaker should be seen to be in sympathy with that of the particular polity, the citizens of which he is addressing:—

> *ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον αἱ πίστεις γίνονται δι' ἀποδεικτικοῦ λόγου ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἠθικοῦ...δέοι ἂν τὰ ἤθη τῶν πολιτειῶν ἑκάστης ἔχειν ἡμᾶς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑκάστης ἦθος πιθανώτατον ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἑκάστην εἶναι* (1366^{a} 9).
>
> *ὧν μὲν οὖν δεῖ ὀρέγεσθαι προτρέποντας ὡς ἐσομένων ἢ ὄντων, καὶ ἐκ τίνων δεῖ τὰς περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος πίστεις*

λαμβάνειν, ἔτι δὲ περὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἠθῶν καὶ νομίμων διὰ τίνων τε καὶ πῶς εὐπορήσομεν...εἴρηται (1366ª 17).

I may remark that the same language is used by Aristotle elsewhere, in Pol. VIII. 1, 1337ª 14 (τὸ ἦθος τῆς πολιτείας ἑκάστης), as also by Demosthenes, 3. 25 (ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἤθει μένοντες), and Plato, Rep. 549 A (τὸ ἦθος ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας). It seems to me, therefore, that throughout this chapter of the Rhetoric Aristotle must be thinking not of the ἔθη or *consuetudines* of each kind of polity, but of its ἦθος, its *indoles* or, as we say, its 'character.'

Rhet. I. 9, 1366ᵇ 36 : (καλὰ) καὶ ὅσα μὴ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα πράττει τις τῶν αἱρετῶν, καὶ τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά—ὅσα ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος τις ἐποίησεν παριδὼν τὸ αὑτοῦ, καὶ τὰ τῇ φύσει ἀγαθά—καὶ ἃ μὴ αὐτῷ ἀγαθά· αὑτοῦ γὰρ ἕνεκα τὰ τοιαῦτα.

I have deviated here to some slight extent from Roemer's punctuation, in order to make it clear that καὶ ἃ μὴ αὐτῷ ἀγαθά is the negative complement of τὰ ἁπλῶς ἀγαθά. Instead of ὑπέρ τε πατρίδος Roemer reads ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, which must be admitted to be an extremely plausible correction, as πατρίς is a word which in a connexion like this may very well take the article. As an alternative, however, it has occurred to me that the τε after ὑπέρ may be simply misplaced, and that it would be better perhaps to read: ὅσα τε ὑπὲρ πατρίδος. With this reading the form of the statement will be just like that of a passage a little earlier in the chapter: ἀνάγκη ὅσα τε ἀνδρίας ἔργα ἢ σημεῖα ἀνδρίας ἢ ἀνδρείως πέπρακται καλὰ εἶναι, καὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ δικαίως ἔργα (1366ᵇ 29).

Rhet. I. 11, 1371ª 21 : καὶ τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι ἡδὺ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι.

Read: διὰ <τὸ> αὐτὸ τῷ τιμᾶσθαι, just as in Rhet. I. 7, 1365ª 17 we have διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ διαιρέσει.

Rhet. II. 2, 1378ᵇ 23 : ἔστι γὰρ ὕβρις τὸ βλάπτειν καὶ λυπεῖν ἐφ' οἷς αἰσχύνη ἐστὶ τῷ πάσχοντι, μὴ ἵνα τι γένηται αὐτῷ ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡσθῇ.

Read: *αὐτῷ*, as the word refers back to the implied subject of *βλάπτειν καὶ λυπεῖν*.

Rhet. II. 6, 1383^{b} 28: *καὶ δανείζεσθαι ὅτε δόξει αἰτεῖν, καὶ αἰτεῖν ὅτε ἀπαιτεῖν, καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν ὅτε αἰτεῖν, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν ἵνα δόξῃ αἰτεῖν.*

This is part of Aristotle's long enumeration of the things which are *αἰσχρά*, and therefore apt to produce a feeling of shame. *ἵνα δόξῃ*, as I learn from Roemer's note, has been questioned by Thurot; but the correction proposed by Thurot is to my mind too great a departure from the tradition. I would suggest *ἃ δόξει*, comparing the *ὅτε δόξει ἀπαιτεῖν* for this use of the future. The reading in the MSS. may have arisen from a very obvious kind of dittographia (*ἐπαινε*IN IN*a*, = *ἐπαινε*IN *ἃ*).

Rhet. II. 23, 1398^{b} 25: *ὥσπερ τὸ* [?] *εἰς Μιξιδημίδην εἶπεν Αὐτοκλῆς, εἰ ταῖς μὲν σεμναῖς θεαῖς ἱκανῶς εἶχεν ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ δοῦναι δίκην, Μιξιδημίδῃ δ' οὔ.*

Most, if not all, of the editions before Bekker's read this interrogatively (*Μιξιδημίδῃ δ' οὔ;*).

Rhet. II. 23, 1399^{b} 15: *εἰ φεύγοντες μὲν ἐμαχόμεθα ὅπως κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα ὅπως μὴ μαχώμεθα.*

This also is marked in the old editions as a question (*μαχώμεθα;*). In a passage in Dionysius Hal. (I. p. 52 Usener and Radermacher) the saying is quoted (from Lysias) in a somewhat different form: *δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ὦ <ἄνδρες> Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ, ὅτε μὲν ἐφεύγομεν, ἐμαχόμεθα Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἵνα κατέλθωμεν, κατελθόντες δὲ φευξόμεθα, ἵνα μὴ μαχώμεθα.* Aristotle may be speaking from memory; but the sense of the two quotations will hardly be the same, unless we read that in Aristotle as a question.

Rhet. III. 11, 1412^{b} 34: *ὥσπερ ἡ ἀνάλογον μεταφορά· οἷον ἡ ἀσπίς, φαμέν, ἐστὶ φιάλη Ἄρεως, καὶ τόξον φόρμιγξ ἄχορδος.*

Perhaps: *καὶ <τὸ> τόξον.*

Fragm. 142 (Teubner): *διὰ τί ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ἀποπειρᾶται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; καὶ οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὥστε ὀλίγου τὰ ἐναντία*

συμβῆναι ἢ ἐβουλεύετο, καὶ τὸ κώλυμα ἀπὸ μηχανῆς· ἡ γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐκώλυσεν. ἔστι δὲ ἀποίητον τὸ μηχάνημα λύειν ἄλλως εἰ μὴ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μύθου. φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ποιητικὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα γίνεσθαι, καὶ ποιητῶν μᾶλλον τὸ κινδύνους παρεισάγειν.

This stands at the beginning of a long note of Porphyry's on Il. II. 73 in Schol. Ven. B (= Porphyr. Q. H. ad Iliadem, p. 24 Schrader). The note begins with the objections of the critics: (1) the device of Agamemnon, his temptation of the army to flight, is said to have involved too great a risk; and (2) the solution of the difficulty in the Homeric story is said to be inartistic, because it requires a miracle, the intervention of Athene. The Aristotelian part of the answer to these objections is supposed by both Heitz and Rose (comp. Aristot. Pseudep. p. 155) to end with *κινδύνους παρεισάγειν*—the rest of the answer (*εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐκ λοιμοῦ πεπονημένους καὶ τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου ἀπαυδήσαντας...μὴ εὐθὺς παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔξοδον, ἀλλὰ πειραθῆναι ἡγήσασθαι δεῖν εἰ οὕτως ἔχουσιν κτέ.*) being supposed to be Porphyry's. It seems to me that, whatever liberties Porphyry may have taken with Aristotle's actual language, a statement very like that which follows the above extract (*εἰκὸς δὲ κτέ.*) must have been added by Aristotle himself. How else can we account for his saying *ποιητικὸν μὲν εἶναι κτέ.*, 'it is no doubt the artistic thing' to represent only a certain kind of incident, unless he intended to balance this by a counter consideration such as we have in the sentence beginning with *εἰκὸς δέ* in the context? In the Greek of the above extract one or two small emendations seem to be required by the sense. (1) Instead of *ἀποίητον τὸ μηχάνημα λύειν*, we should perhaps restore: *ἀποίητον μηχάνημα τὸ λύειν*, and translate it thus: 'It is an inartistic device to bring about a dénoûment (*λύειν*; comp. Poet. 18, 1456^{a} 10) by means outside the story itself.' (2) *ποιητῶν* has been questioned by Schrader, who suggests *ποιητέων* as an alternative. My own suspicion is that *καὶ ποιητῶν* represents *κἀποίητον*—*ἀποίητον* being the natural opposite of *ποιητικόν*; so that the sense of the clause as amended will be: 'it is inartistic to introduce hazardous situations.' The objection of the critics was that

Agamemnon, on the occasion described by Homer in Il. II. 73 sqq., was running too great a risk—*οὕτως ἔπραξεν ὥστε ὀλίγου τὰ ἐναντία συμβῆναι ἢ ἐβουλεύετο.* Aristotle, while admitting the general validity of the principle underlying the objection, points out that there were in this instance circumstances which made the act of Agamemnon not so unreasonable as it might seem.

I. BYWATER.

THE TEXT OF THE HEBREW BIBLE IN ABBREVIATIONS.

(*Read before the Oriental Congress at Rome in* 1899.)

The fact that not only are all the post-Biblical writings replete with abbreviations but that they are to be found on the Maccabean coins would of itself be sufficient evidence that they were used in Biblical Manuscripts of the pre-Christian era. We are however not confined to this inference alone. The testimony of the Septuagint establishes it beyond the shadow of a doubt. From a number of passages which exhibit discrepancies between the present Hebrew text and this Greek Version it is perfectly evident that the translators of the Septuagint had before them a Hebrew original in which half words and even single letters were used as abbreviations.

In illustration of this fact I will simply adduce here a few of the examples which I have given elsewhere.

In Gen. xlvii. 3 the quadriliteral אחיו which is in the *textus receptus* one word and is taken to denote *his brethren* was read by the Septuagint translators as an abbreviation of two words, viz.—אח״ו = אֲחֵי יוֹסֵף *the brethren of Joseph*, and this reading is attested by the Samaritan recension, the so-called Jonathan Targum and the Syriac. The same abbreviation occurs also in 2 Sam. iii. 27 where the received text reads it as one word, and where the Septuagint resolves it into two words viz.:—אֲחֵי יוֹאָב *the brother of Joab.*

In Levit. vi. 10 the quadriliteral מאשי which the received text reads as one word מַאֲשָׁי *of my offerings*, the Septuagint

reads as an abbreviation of two words viz.:—מֵאִשֵּׁי יְהוָֹה *of the offerings of Jehovah.* These identical two words are exhibited in the Samaritan recension מאשי יהוה and this solution is confirmed by the very next verse of the received text.

In Numb. xxiii. 10 the quinqueliteral ומספר which the Massoretic text reads as one word וּמִסְפָּר *and the number* is resolved in the Septuagint into two words viz.—ומ ספר = וּמִי סָפַר *and who can number.* This reading is not only exhibited in some of the Samaritan manuscripts but is implied in the explanation of this passage in the Midrash Rabba. Accordingly, the verse ought to be rendered

> "Who can count the dust of Jacob?
> And who can number the fourth part of Israel?"

This restores the parallelism which is marred by the Massoretic solution.

In Deut. xxxii. 35 the biliteral לי which the received text regards as one word viz.—the preposition ל with the suffix first person singular denoting *to me,* is taken by the Septuagint as the abbreviation of ליום *for the day of.* This solution is exhibited not only in the Samaritan recension, but is expressed in Onkelos. The passage is therefore to be rendered

> "Is not this laid up in store for me,
> Sealed up in my treasuries?
> For the day of vengeance and recompense,
> For the time when their foot shall slip."

In this solution of the abbreviations לְיוֹם *for the day,* and לְעֵת *for the time* obtain their natural parallelism. The third line corresponds with the first and the fourth with the second in accordance with one of the laws of Hebrew parallelism.

Though the employment of abbreviations in the text of the Hebrew Scriptures was generally discontinued in the post-Talmudic period, yet they occasionally occur in some of the best codices. In my Introduction to the *Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible* I have described no fewer than

nine manuscripts in the British Museum alone which exhibit half words and even single letters instead of entire expressions[1]. Still we were not prepared to find a manuscript of any portion of the Massoretic text which is written almost entirely in abbreviations and in which every word is represented.

Among the fragments from the Genizah at Cairo which have been acquired by the British Museum there are actually two leaves of such a text. They constitute the outer two of a quire of eight leaves and contain Leviticus xx. 14*b*—xxi. 20*a* and Numbers i. 36—ii. 16*a* or fifty-seven verses; twenty-three of Leviticus and thirty-four of Numbers. Accordingly the six inner leaves which are missing contained Leviticus xxi. 20*b*—Numb. i. 35.

Each verse begins with the first word fully written out, whilst the remaining words of the verse are as a rule all abbreviated. The letter selected to represent the word is the one with the cantillating accent. Hence the abbreviation is invariably provided with the Massoretic accent as well as with the Massoretic vowel-points. When it is a particle which has no accent the letter representing it is joined with *Makeph* to the following one which has the accent. Besides the vowel-points and the accents the text is furnished with both Massorahs, Parva and Magna. The former is given not only in the outer and inner margins but in diminutive letters above the abbreviated word in the text itself, whilst the latter is given in the upper and lower margins.

It is remarkable that whilst in Levit. xx. 17 the text exhibits Ben-Asher's reading אֲוֹ with *Munach* and the margin אוֹ־ with *Makeph* as the variant, in Numb. i. 45 the textual reading is בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל which is that of Ben-Naphtali and not בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל which we follow. The manuscript has also the following variations. It omits כִּי before את שארו in Levit. xx. 19; it reads את־אלה instead of את־כָּל־אלה in Levit. xx. 23

[1] Add. 9399; 9403; 9404; 10455; 14760; 15282; 15451; 19776; Or. 2696; Nos. 12, 15, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, 26, 49. See pages 533, 549, 556, 569, 573, 598, 605, 615, 714 of the *Introduction*.

and תְּחֶל with *Segol* instead of תְּחֵל with *Tzere* in Levit. xxi. 9.

As to its palæographical features the letters are of the Sephardic school and exhibit archaic forms.

ל־. The shaft to the left of the horizontal line of the *Lamed* is exceptionally long and is hooked towards the outside. Compare folio 1*a* lines 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, etc.

ם־. The final *Mem* is, like the *Samech*, round below. Compare folio 1*a* lines 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16, etc.

ן־. The final *Nun* is simply the length of the medial letters and is hardly distinguishable from the *Zayin*. Compare folio 1*a* lines 12, 16: folio 1*b* lines 6, 7, 16, etc.

The aspirated letters (בגדכפת) are as a rule marked with a horizontal *Raphe* stroke both in the middle and at the end of words. Compare folio 1*a* lines 1, 5, 6, 7, etc.

The graphic sign *Kametz* is simply a *Pathach* with a dot or *Chirek* under it. Compare folio 1*a* lines 1, 2, 3, 6, etc.

The verse divider is strongly exhibited by the normal perpendicular, two dots.

The accent *Soph-Pasuk* or *Silluk* inclines to the left and almost resembles the *Mercha*. Compare folio 1*a* lines 2, 3, 5, 7, etc.

The Tetragrammaton is represented by two *Yods* with a *Cholem* between them and a *Kametz* under them יְיָ with the respective accents. Compare folio 1*a* lines 12, 16: folio 1*b* lines 4, 6, 10, 13: folio 2*a* line 12: folio 2*b* lines 2, 3.

Though there is a break in each of the nine sections in the text covered by this fragment (Levit. xxi. 1, 10, 16: Numb. i. 38, 40, 42, 44, 48; ii. 1, 10) the prescribed space to distinguish between the open and closed sections is not observed.

Not only is the commencement of the Annual Pericope indicated in the margin by the letter *Pe* פ but the *Sedarim* or the Triennial Pericopes are marked by the letter *Samech* ס. Compare folio 1*a* line 16: folio 2*b* line 3.

The design in producing the text of the Bible in abbreviations was not only to economize the vellum and the labour of

writing but to furnish students with easy aids to learn the Scriptures by heart. Moreover by selecting the letters with the accents to represent the respective words and by carefully furnishing them with the cantillating symbols these manuals were also intended to aid those who had publicly to read the Sabbatical Lessons in the synagogues to recite the text in accordance with the traditional cantillation. Hence this compendium is essentially Massoretical. No vowel-point or accent which belongs to the several consonants is omitted. All the verse dividers and the sections are duly indicated, and both the *Parasha* and the *Sedarim* are carefully marked in accordance with the Massorah.

In this respect therefore, the simple text of this fragment forms a striking contrast to the one, also from Egypt, which is now in the Bodleian. Dr Neubauer has published eight lines of the Oxford fragment which contain eight verses of Isaiah, viz.—v. 8, 9: vi. 1—4: vii. 24, 25[1]. As far as these enigmatic symbols can be deciphered at all they exhibit an epitomised text and not a text of which every word is represented by an abbreviation. Thus for instance Isa. v. 8, which is here exhibited in the first line, consists in the Massoretic text of fourteen words. Of these, six only are represented according to Dr Friedlander's decipherment. The supposed symbols for the vowel-signs and the accents are still more puzzling.

It is therefore more than probable that the letters of the Oxford fragment exhibit mnemonic signs which still await solution; whereas in the fragment before us we have for the first time a genuine Biblical text written in abbreviations which can easily be deciphered by any Hebrew scholar, and which served as a useful and popular *Vade Mecum* to students.

[1] The *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. VII. pp. 361—364: 564—568. London, 1895.

C. D. GINSBURG.

LEVIT. XX. 14 *b*—XXI. 1 *a*.

15 1 זִמָּה הֵ֣ אֵּ פֻּ֣ תֹּ֣ הָ֣ וְלִ֣ יֵ֣ מֻ֣ כָ֣ [׃ אִ֣ שָּׁ֣ תֵּ֣ תֻּ֣]

16 2 מֻ֣ מָ֣ מֵ֣ וְאֵ֣ מָ֣ רָ֣ ׃ וְאִשָּׁ֣ה אֲשֶׁ֣ תִּ֣ קְרַ֣[אֲ֣כְ֣מָ֣ה עָ֣ תָּ֣]

17 3 תֵּ֣ אֶ֣ שֵּׁ֣ וְאֵ֣ מָּ֣ מֻ֣ מָ֣ הֵ֣ בָּ֣ ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁ֣ קַ֣ אֶ֣ תְּ֣

4 בַּ֣ בֵּ֣ אֲ֣ בַ֣ מֹּ֣ אָ֣ אֵ֣ ׀ הֵ֣ אֶ֣ אֶ֣ תְּ֣ חֵ֣ הָ֣ תֵּ֣ נֵ֣ מָּ֣ וָ֣ תָ֣ לָ֣

5 18 נָ֣ שָׁ֣ ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁ֣ כַּ֣ב אֶ֣ שָּׁ֣ דָּ֣ וָ֣ לִ֣ אֶ֣ תָּ֣ אֶ֣ רְ֣ וְ֣ הָ֣ וְהֵ֣

6 19 תָּ֣ אֶ֣ קֵ֣ מָּ֣ תֵּ֣ הֵ֣ קֵ֣ מָ֣ ׃ וְעֶרְוַ֣ת אֲחֹ֣ תְּ֣ אִ֣ מְּ֣ וּ֣ עֶ֣ רְ֣ בַ֣ לֹּ֣ גַּ֣ לֶּ֣ אֵ֣

7 20 אֶ֣ רֶ֣ נָ֣ שָׁ֣ ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁ֣ כַּ֣ב אֶ֣ דֹּ֣ דָּ֣ תּוֹ֣ וַ֣ רְ֣ לֹּ֣ אֶ֣ שָׁ֣

8 21 רֵ֣ מְּ֣ תּוֹ֣ ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁ֣ קַ֣ אֶ֣ אֶ֣ אֲ֣ חִ֣ נִּ֣ דַּ֣ הֵ֣ וַ֣ חֵ֣ פֵ֣ לְ֣ רִ֣ ים

9 22 יָ֣ ׃ וּשְׁמַרְתֶּ֣ם אֶת־כָּל־ תֻּ֣ תָּ֣ מְּ֣ אָ֣ר

10 23 שֶׁ֣ נִ֣ בֵּ֣ כֶּ֣ שֵׁ֣ שֶׁ֣ בֵּ֣ ׃ וְלֹא נֶ֣ לֶ֣ כֶּ֣ בְּ֣ אֲ֣

11 24 אֶ֣ שֶׁ֣ קֶּ֣ וָ֣ בֶּ֣ ׃ וְאָמַר נֶּ֣ נֶ֣ כְּ֣ רֶ֣ תָּ֣ הּ

12 25 אֶ֣ בֵּ֣ לֶ֣ בֶּ֣ נֵ֣ יֵ֣ כֶ֣ אַ֣ דַּ֣ מְּ֣ ׃ וְהִבְדַּלְתֶּ֣ם בֵּין־הַ֣

13 הָ֣ אָ֣ וּבֵ֣ הָ֣ עֵ֣ מֵּ֣ הָ֣ וְלִ֣ צְּ֣ אֶ֣ כָ֣ מֵּ֣ עֹ֣ כֵּ֣ שֵׁ֣ מַ֣ מָּ֣

14 26 אַ֣ כֶּ֣ מֵּ֣ ׃ וְהֱיִיתֶם לִ֣ דְּ֣ שֹׁ֣ קְּ֣ דֹ֣ וֹ֣ כִּ֣ מְּ֣ יְ֣ וֹ֣ לִ֣ יָ֣ ׃

17—2

M. P.

לרבעה ל׳ רפ

פּלגו או־בת

דָּוָה ג׳ מְקֹרָה ל׳ בתו׳

גִּלְּתָה ב׳

וְאֶקַּח ל׳ וחס

ואבדל ל׳ חס

15 27 וְאִישׁ אוֹ־אִשָּׁה כִּי־יִהְיֶה אוֹב אֹ נ מ מ א תָּ ה בָּן׃

1 ס 16 פ וַיֹּאמֶר יְיָ אֶ־משֶׁ אֱמָ א־נִים נ רָן תָּם

M. M. Upper margin on Levit. xx. 18 ג׳ הֵעֶרָה Massorah ע § 773: וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁ־ ה׳, 872 § מ M. במשקל ד׳ דג׳, 134 § ד M. דָּוָה ג׳ lower margin: M. ב § 683.

1 זִמָּה הִוא בָּאֵשׁ יִשְׂרְפוּ אֹתוֹ וְאֶתְהֶן וְלֹא־תִהְיֶה

15 זִמָּה בְּתוֹכְכֶם׃ [וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִתֵּן שְׁכָבָתוֹ]

2 16 בִּבְהֵמָה מוֹת יוּמָת וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה תַּהַרְגוּ׃ וְאִשָּׁה

אֲשֶׁר תִּקְרַב [אֶל־כָּל־בְּהֵמָה לְרִבְעָה אֹתָהּ]

3 וְהָרַגְתָּ אֶת־הָאִשָּׁה וְאֶת־הַבְּהֵמָה מוֹת יוּמָתוּ דְּמֵיהֶם

17 בָּם׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִקַּח אֶת־אֲחֹתוֹ

4 בַּת־אָבִיו אֹו בַת־אִמּוֹ וְרָאָה אֶת־עֶרְוָתָהּ וְהִיא תִרְאֶה

אֶת־עֶרְוָתוֹ חֶסֶד הוּא וְנִכְרְתוּ לְעֵינֵי בְּנֵי עַמָּם

עֶרְוַת אֲחֹתוֹ גִּלָּה

5 18 עֲוֹנוֹ יִשָּׂא׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־אִשָּׁה דָוָה וְגִלָּה

אֶת־עֶרְוָתָהּ אֶת־מְקֹרָהּ הֶעֱרָה וְהִוא

6 גִּלְּתָה אֶת־מְקוֹר דָּמֶיהָ וְנִכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם מִקֶּרֶב עַמָּם׃

19 וְעֶרְוַת אֲחוֹת אִמְּךָ וַאֲחוֹת אָבִיךָ לֹא תְגַלֶּה ׳אֶת־

7 20 שְׁאֵרוֹ הֶעֱרָה עֲוֹנָם יִשָּׂאוּ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אֶת־

דֹּדָתוֹ עֶרְוַת דֹּדוֹ גִּלָּה חֶטְאָם יִשָּׂאוּ

8 21 עֲרִירִים יָמֻתוּ׃ וְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִקַּח אֶת־אֵשֶׁת אָחִיו
נִדָּה הִוא עֶרְוַת אָחִיו גִּלָּה עֲרִירִים

9 22 יִהְיוּ׃ וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־כָּל־[חֻקֹּתַי וְאֶת־כָּל־מִשְׁפָּטַי]
וַעֲשִׂיתֶם אֹתָם [וְלֹא־תָקִיא] אֶתְכֶם הָאָרֶץ

10 23 אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֵבִיא אֶתְכֶם שָׁמָּה לָשֶׁבֶת בָּהּ׃ וְלֹא
[תֵלְכוּ בְּחֻקַּת הַגּוֹי אֲשֶׁר־]אֲנִי מְשַׁלֵּחַ מִפְּנֵיכֶם
כִּי אֶת־

11 24 אֵלֶּה עָשׂוּ וְאֶקְוֹץ בָּם׃ וָאֹמַר לָכֶם אַתֶּם תִּירְשׁוּ
אֶת־אַדְמָתָם וַאֲנִי אֶתְּנֶנָּה לָכֶם לָרֶשֶׁת אֹתָהּ

12 אֶרֶץ זָבַת חָלָב וּדְבָשׁ אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם אֲשֶׁר־

25 הִבְדַּלְתִּי אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָעַמִּים׃ וְהִבְדַּלְתֶּם בֵּין־
הַבְּהֵמָה

13 הַטְּהֹרָה לַטְּמֵאָה וּבֵין־הָעוֹף הַטָּמֵא לַטָּהֹר וְלֹא־
תְשַׁקְּצוּ אֶת־נַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם בַּבְּהֵמָה וּבָעוֹף וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁר
תִּרְמֹשׂ הָאֲדָמָה

14 26 אֲשֶׁר־הִבְדַּלְתִּי לָכֶם לְטַמֵּא׃ וִהְיִיתֶם לִי קְדֹשִׁים
כִּי קָדוֹשׁ ׀ וָאַבְדִּל אֶתְכֶם מִן־הָעַמִּים לִהְיוֹת לִי׃

15 27 וְאִישׁ אוֹ־אִשָּׁה כִּי־יִהְיֶה בָהֶם אוֹב אוֹ יִדְּעֹנִי מוֹת
יוּמָתוּ בָּאֶבֶן יִרְגְּמוּ אֹתָם דְּמֵיהֶם בָּם׃

1 ס 16 פ וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה אֱמֹר אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים בְּנֵי

LEVIT. XXI. 1 *b*—20 *a*.

M. P.

2 3	1	[נֶ לְ־מֵ מֵ : כִּי אִם ר] רְ לֶ מֶ לְ בְ נָ תִ חִ : וְלַאֲחֹתוֹ	לאמו ולאביו ל׳ ולבתו ב׳ ולאחתו ל׳
4 5	2	לָהּ בְּ לְ שֵ לִ־תִ אְ לֵ מְ : לְאִ יִטַּמָּ בְּ מֵ לְ : לְאֲ חֹתָהּ	ו׳ ק׳
6	3	קְרֹבָהּ שֶׁ אֲ נָ לֶ לְ דְ לְ טֶ נָ : קְדֹשִׁים וְ הֵם וְלָ	
7	4	לְ שֵׁ הֵ כְּ אֲ־שֵׁ יְ לֶ הֵ הֵ בְּם הֵ קְ : אִשָּׁה זֹנָה לָהּ	איש׳ ט כת׳ י׳ בת׳
8	5	לְ קְ שֶׁ שֵׁ לְ קְ כְּ־דְּ שׁ הֵ הּ : וְקִדְּשׁוּתוֹ כְּ־אֲ־	קדש י״ג חס׳ מקריבם ל חס׳
9	6	לֶ הֵ הֵ רְ דשׁ יְ־לְ כֶ דוֹשׁ נְ יְ כֶ : וּבַת אִישׁ הֵן	
10	7	כְּ תֶחֳ נָ וֹ אֲ־בִ הּ לְ אֵ ר : וְהַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל חָ	היא יא כת׳ בת׳ הגדול ח׳ מל
	8	אֲ־בַּ עַ־שֵׁ שֶׁ חָ לֵ אֲ־דִ בְּ אֲ־דֵ אֲ־שֵׁ לְ רָ דְ לְ	יוצק ב׳ ומלא ל׳ ללבש ב׳ יפרע ל׳
11 12	9	רֹם : [וְעַל כָּל־שְׁ מֵ לְ בְ] בְ מִ לְ מָ : וּמִן־הַדֶּשׁ	
	10	לֹא יֵצֵא [לְ לֵ אֵ דֵ הָ] כִּי נֵזֶ שֶׁ חַ הֶ לֶ נְ יְ :	
13 14	11	וְהִוא אִשָּׁה [לֶ קְ :] אַלְמָנָה וּגְרוּשָׁה לֶ זְ אֲ־	
15	12	אֵ לְ קְ כְּ אֲ־לֵ מִ קְ שׁ : וְלֹא־יְחַלֵּל זַרְעוֹ מִ	
16 17	13	כְּ נְ יְ שׁוֹ : וַיְדַבֵּר יְ אֶל־מֹשֶׁה מֹר : דַּבֵּר	
18	14	אֶל־אַהֲרֹן מֹר אִ דְּ תְ שְׁ יְ בְ מְ לְ רַ רְ לֶ הֵ : כִּי	
	15	כָּל־אִישׁ אֲ־בִ מְ לְ רְ אֲ־עוֹ אִ סְ אִ רֶם אָ רְ :	

19 16 20 אוֹ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ שֶׁרֶט אֶשֶׁךְ יָדוֹ : אוֹ־גִבֵּן א־דַּק נִבֵּן ל

M. M. Top line on Levit. xxi. 5 ב׳ פס׳ באו׳ איתּ בהון תלתא לא Massorah ל § 60: two bottom lines ו׳ן וכן בסוף תיבותא׳ יו״ד כת׳ הֵ Massorah ה § 49.

2 1 [לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא־יִטַּמָּא בְּעַמָּיו : כִּי אִם־לִשְׁאֵרוֹ] הַקָּרֹב

3 אֵלָיו לְאִמּוֹ וּלְאָבִיו וּלְבְנוֹ וּלְבִתּוֹ וּלְאָחִיו : וְלַאֲחֹתוֹ

2 הַבְּתוּלָה הַקְּרוֹבָה אֵלָיו אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הָיְתָה לְאִישׁ לָהּ

4 5 יִטַּמָּא : לֹא יִטַּמָּא בַּעַל בְּעַמָּיו לְהֵחֳלוֹ : לֹא־

יקרחה

3 קָרְחָה בְרֹאשָׁם וּפְאַת זְקָנָם לֹא יְגַלֵּחוּ וּבִבְשָׂרָם לֹא

6 יִשְׂרְטוּ שָׂרָטֶת : קְדֹשִׁים יִהְיוּ לֵאלֹהֵיהֶם וְלֹא

4 יְחַלְּלוּ שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם כִּי אֶת־אִשֵּׁי יְהוָה לֶחֶם אֱלֹהֵיהֶם

7 הֵם מַקְרִיבִם וְהָיוּ קֹדֶשׁ : אִשָּׁה זֹנָה וְחֹלָלָה

5 לֹא יִקָּחוּ וְאִשָּׁה גְרוּשָׁה מֵאִישָׁהּ לֹא יִקָּחוּ כִּי־קְדֹשׁ

8 הוּא לֵאלֹהָיו : וְקִדַּשְׁתּוֹ כִּי־אֶת־

6 לֶחֶם אֱלֹהֶיךָ הוּא מַקְרִיב קָדֹשׁ יִהְיֶה־לָּךְ כִּי קָדוֹשׁ

9 אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדִּשְׁכֶם : וּבַת אִישׁ כֹּהֵן

7 כִּי תָחֵל לִזְנוֹת אֶת־אָבִיהָ הִיא מְחַלֶּלֶת בָּאֵשׁ תִּשָּׂרֵף :

10 וְהַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל מֵאֶחָיו

8 אֲשֶׁר־יוּצַק עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ שֶׁמֶן הַמִּשְׁחָה וּמִלֵּא אֶת־יָדוֹ
לְלַבֵּשׁ אֶת־הַבְּגָדִים אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ לֹא יִפְרָע וּבְגָדָיו לֹא
9 11 יִפְרֹם׃ [וְעַל כָּל־נֶפֶשׁ מֵת לֹא יָבֹא] לְאָבִיו
12 וְלְאִמּוֹ לֹא יִטַּמָּא׃ וּמִן־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ
10 לֹא יֵצֵא [וְלֹא יְחַלֵּל אֶת מִקְדַּשׁ אֱלֹהָיו] כִּי נֵזֶר שֶׁמֶן
מִשְׁחַת אֱלֹהָיו עָלָיו אֲנִי יְהוָה׃
13 14 11 וְהוּא אִשָּׁה [בִּבְתוּלֶיהָ יִקָּח׃] אַלְמָנָה וּגְרוּשָׁה וְחַלָּלָה
זֹנָה אֶת־
12 אֵלֶּה לֹא יִקָּח כִּי אִם־בְּתוּלָה מֵעַמָּיו יִקַּח אִשָּׁה׃
15 וְלֹא־יְחַלֵּל זַרְעוֹ בְּעַמָּיו
16 13 כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדְּשׁוֹ׃ וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה
17 לֵאמֹר׃ דַּבֵּר
14 אֶל־אַהֲרֹן לֵאמֹר אִישׁ מִזַּרְעֲךָ לְדֹרֹתָם אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בּוֹ
18 מוּם לֹא יִקְרַב לְהַקְרִיב לֶחֶם אֱלֹהָיו׃ כִּי
15 כָּל־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ מוּם לֹא יִקְרָב אִישׁ עִוֵּר אוֹ פִסֵּחַ
אוֹ חָרֻם אוֹ שָׂרוּעַ׃
16 19 אוֹ אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִהְיֶה בּוֹ שֶׁבֶר רָגֶל אוֹ שֶׁבֶר יָד׃
20 אוֹ־גִבֵּן אוֹ־דַק

NUMB. I. 36—52 *a*.

1 36 לִבְנֵי בִנְיָמִן תַּ תֵּ בֵּ תָּ פַּ מֹּת בָּ רֵ נָ מַ כְּ צֵּ בָא׃

2 37 38 פְּקֻדֵיהֶם טֵּ מָן מִשָּׁה שִׁים אֵּ בַּ ע מֵּאׇ׃ לִבְנֵי

3 39 דָּן תַּ תֵּ בֵּ תָּ פַּ מֹּת בָּ רֵ נָ מַ כְּ צֵּ בָא׃ פְּקֻדֵיהֶם טֵּ דָּן

4 40 שְׁנֵ וְשִׁשָּׁ אֵּ וּשְׁבַּ אׇ׃ לִבְנֵי אָשֵׁר תַּ תֵּ בֵּ תָּ

5 41 פַּ מֹּת בָּ רֵ נָ מַ כְּ צֵּ בָא׃ פְּקֻדֵיהֶם טֵּ אָשֵׁ חֵ עָ אָ

6 42 מֵּשׁ אׇ׃ בְּנֵ נַפְתָּלִי תַּ תֵּ בֵּ תָּ פַּ מֹּת בָּ רֵ בְּנֵי ל׳ בעניג׳ ושאר׳ לבני

7 43 ר נָ מַ [כְּ צֵּ בָא׃] פְּקֻדֵיהֶם טֵּ נַפְתָּלִי לִשָּׁה שִׁים אֵּ

8 44 [בָּ אׇ׃] אֵלֶּה הַפְּקֻדִּ שֶׁ קָ שֶׁ רֹן אֵּ אֵל

9 45 שְׁנֵ עָשָׂ אֵּ אֶ־אֶחָ לִבֵּ־תֵּ הָיׇ׃ וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־פְּקוּדֵי בְּנֵי־

10 46 אֵּ בֵּ תָּ בָּ רֵ נָ מַ כָּ־צֵּ בָא בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל׃ וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל־דִּים

11 47 שֵׁשׁ־מְאׇ אֵּ וּשְׁלֹשָׁ פְּי מֵּשׁ מְאׇ שִׁים׃ וְהַלְוִיִּם

12 48 49 טֵּ תָּם לְ דָּ בָּם׃ וַיְדַבֵּר יְיָ אֶ־מֹשֶׁ מׇ׃ אַךְ

13 50 אֶ־טֵּ לִוִּי לְ קֹ וְאֶ־לְשֶׁם לְ שָׁ תֹּ נֵ אׇ׃ וְאַתָּה הַפְּקֵד הפקד ב׳ רשע׳

14 אֶ־הַלְוִיִּם עַ־כַּ דְתֹ וַעֲ כָּ־ל וְעַ כָּ־אֲ־לוֹ הֵמָּ אֶ אֶ־כֵּן

15 51 וְאֶ־כָּ־כֵּל וְהֵ תֵּ בֵּ כֵּ נָ׃ וּבִנְסַעַ כֵּן יוֹרִידוּ למל אֹתוֹ וסביב ב׳ צידון

16 52 יִ נֹ כֵּ יֵקְ אִתּוֹ יְ זֵ רֵ מָ׃ וְחָנוּ בְנֵ אֵּ אֶ עַ־לְנֵ וְאִ עַ־בֵּ־לְ על־מחנהו ל׳ על־דגלו ב׳

שמותד׳ מל׳ בעניגה וסימנהון רֹשׁנֹם M. M. Lower margin on Numb. i. 34
ראובן יטמעון גד מנשה M. ש § 627.

1 36 לבני בנימן תולדתם למשפחתם לבית אבתם במספר
שמת מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה כל יצא צבא׃
2 37 פקדיהם למטה בנימן חמשה ושלשים אלף וארבע
38 מאות׃ לבני
3 דן תולדתם למשפחתם לבית אבתם במספר שמת
39 מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה כל יצא צבא׃ פקדיהם
למטה דן
4 40 שנים וששים אלף ושבע מאות׃ לבני אשר
תולדתם למשפחתם לבית אבתם
5 במספר שמת מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה כל יצא
41 צבא׃ פקדיהם למטה אשר אחד וארבעים אלף
6 42 וחמש מאות׃ בני נפתלי תולדתם למשפחתם
לבית אבתם במספר שמת מבן עשרים
ר 7 43 שנה ומעלה [כל יצא צבא׃ פקדיהם למטה
נפתלי שלשה וחמשים אלף
8 44 [וארבע מאות׃] אלה הפקדים אשר פקד משה
ואהרן ונשיאי ישראל
9 שנים עשר איש איש־אחד לבית־אבתיו היו׃
45 ויהיו כל־פקדי בני־

10 ישראל לבית אבתם מבן עשרים שנה ומעלה כל־
46 יצא צבא בישראל : ויהיו כל־הפקדים
11 ששׁ־מאות אלף ושלשׁת אלפים וחמשׁ מאות
47 וחמשׁים : והלוים
48 12 למטה אבתם לא התפקדו בתוכם : וידבר יהוה
49 אל־משׁה לאמר : אך
13 את־מטה לוי לא תפקד ואת־ראשׁם לא תשׂא בתוך
50 בני ישראל : ואתּה הפקד
14 את־הלוים על־משׁכן העדת ועל כל־כליו ועל כל־
אשׁר־לו המה ישׂאו את־המשׁכן
15 ואת־כל־כליו והם ישׁרתהו וסביב למשׁכן יחנו :
51 ובנסע המשׁכן יורידו אתו
16 הלוים ובחנת המשׁכן יקימו אתו הלוים והזר הקרב
52 יומת : וחנו בני ישׂראל איש על־מחנהו ואיש
על־דגלו

NUMB. I. 53—II. 16 *a*.

1 53 תָּם׃ וְהַלְוִיִּם יַחֲנוּ בְּכִתְּרֹת וְלִיקָן עַדְנֵי אָרְ

2 54 יְאָמֶן בְּנֵי וְיוֹ׃ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ בְּנֵי אָשְׁצוֹיְיאָ־מֹשֶׁ העדות ח׳ מל׳ בת׳

1 3 סׄ כֵּן עָשׂוּ׃ וַיְדַבֵּר יְיָ אֶל־מֹשֶׁ וְאֶל־אַרֹן מֹר׃

2 4 אִישׁ עַל־לְ תֹּבֵתָ נֵי אֵנֵּבְ אֹעֵנָ׃ וְהַחֹנִים 3

4 5 קֵרָ דֵּ [נֵ] יְהוּדָה תָּשְׁנֵי דָ נַחְשׁ בְּרַבָּ׃ וּצְבָאוֹ

5 6 הֵם בָּעֵ שִׁבְעָ אֵ וְשִׁשׁ אָ׃ וְהַחֹנִים עַלְ טֵ

6 7 כָּר שְׁנֵי כָּר נְתַנְאֵ בְּעָר׃ וּצְבָאוֹ [וּפְקֻדָיו] בָּעָה

7 8 מִשְׁפָּ אֵ בָּע מֵאָ׃ מַטֵּה זְבוּלֻן שְׁ[נֵ זבולְ אָב] מטה ב׳ רפ׳ עזך

8 9 בְּנֵ־חֵלֹן׃ וּצְבָאוֹ דָיו שִׁבְעָ וַחֲמִשָּׁ אֵ וְאַרְבַּע אָ׃

9 10 כָּל־הַפְּקֻדִ לְמַחֲנֵ דָהּ מְאָ אָ נָ אֵ וְשִׁשָּׁ־פְּנִים

10 11 בַּ־אָ תָ רִאשֹׁנָה פָ׃ דֶּגֶל מַחֲנֵ רְאוּבֵן מָ

11 12 תָּם שְׁנֵי בֵּן צָ בֵּ־אוּר׃ וּצְבָאוֹ דָיו שִׁשָּׁ עִים וּצבאו ופקדיו ג׳ בע

12 13 אֵ מֵשׁ אָ׃ וְהַחֹנִים עָלְ טֵ עוֹן שִׁאֵ נֵ עֹוֹן לחם ד

13 14 שְׁלֻמִיאֵ בֶּ־שַׁדֵּי׃ וּצְבָאוֹ הֵם תִּשְׁעָ מִשִּׁים

14 15 אֵ וּשְׁלֻ מֵאָ׃ וּמַטֵּה גָּד שְׁנֵי גָּד סָף בֶּ־אֵל׃

15 16 וּצְבָאוֹ הֵם מִשָּׁ רִבְעָ אֵ וְשִׁשָּׁ מֵאָ שִׁים׃ כָּל־ 16

No M. M.

1 53 לצבאתם : והלוים יחנו סביב למשכן העדה ולא־
יהיה קצף על־עדת בני ישראל ושמרו
2 54 הלוים את־משמרת משכן העדות : ויעשו בני
ישראל ככל אשר צוה יי את־משה
1 3 ס ובן עשו : וידבר יי אל־משה ואל־אהרן לאמר :
2 4 איש על־דגלו באתת לבית אבתם יחנו בני ישראל
3 מנגד סביב לאהל־מועד יחנו : והחנים
5 קדמה מזרחה דגל [מחנה] יהודה לצבאתם ונשיא
4 לבני יהודה נחשון בן־עמינדב : וצבאו
6 ופקדיהם ארבעה ושבעים אלף ושש מאות :
5 והחנים עליו מטה ישששכר
6 7 ונשיא לבני ישששכר נתנאל בן־צוער : וצבאו
[ופקדיו] ארבעה
7 8 וחמשים אלף וארבע מאות : מטה זבולן ונשיא
[לבני זבולן אליאב]
8 9 בן־חלן : וצבאו ופקדיו שבעה וחמשים אלף וארבע
מאות :
9 10 כל־הפקדים למחנה יהודה מאת אלף ושמנים אלף
וששת־אלפים

10 11 וארבַּע־מאוֹת לצבאתָם ראשנָה יסָעוּ׃ דֶּגֶל
מחנֵה ראוּבֵן תימָנה

12 לצבאתָם ונשִׂיא לִבנֵי ראוּבֵן אליצוּר בֶּן־שדֵיאוּר׃

11 וצבאוֹ ופקדֵיו שִׁשָּׁה וארבָּעִים

12 13 אֶלֶף וחמֵשׁ מאוֹת׃ וְהַחוֹנִם עָלָיו מטֵּה שמעוֹן ונשִׂיא
לבנֵי שמעוֹן

13 14 שלמיאֵל בֶּן־צוּרישַׁדָּי׃ וּצְבָאוֹ ופקדיהֶם תשעָה
וחמִשִּׁים

14 15 אֶלֶף ושלֹשׁ מאוֹת׃ ומַטֵּה גָּד ונשִׂיא לבנֵי גָּד
אליסָף בֶּן־רעוּאֵל׃

15 16 וּצְבָאוֹ ופקדיהֶם חמִשָּׁה וארבָּעִים אֶלֶף ושֵׁשׁ מאוֹת
16 וחמִשִּׁים׃ כָּל־

CONTROVERSIES IN ARMENIAN TOPOGRAPHY.

II.

Rhandeia and the River Arsanias.

In an earlier paper published in the Journal of Philology, Vol. xxviii. pp. 99—121, I discussed at length the time-worn controversy relative to the site of the city of Tigranocerta. In

Walker & Cockerell sc.

this second and concluding paper I propose to discuss the questions of the sites of Rhandeia and Arsamosata, the scenes of the famous disaster which befel the Roman arms under the general Caesennius Paetus in the year A.D. 62, a disaster which bade fair to undo the great and notable work which Corbulo had just accomplished in Armenia. Though the evidence is various, the topographical dispute is much less bitter and practical certainty is at least more easily attainable. But those results of a purely topographical enquiry may be at once and curiously applied to throw a brilliant light upon certain questions of strategy which arise in connection with Paetus' unlucky campaign, and moreover upon a somewhat dark cloud of suspicion which hangs alike over the historian Tacitus and the soldier Corbulo, namely the suspicion that one or other (if not both) has treated the defeated commander unfairly. Our second topographical enquiry issues therefore in certain strategical and evidential considerations.

I propose therefore first to discuss the topographical questions on their own merits, citing and comparing first the ancient and secondly the modern authorities. Then finally, by way of conclusion, there remain the other considerations mentioned, which amount to a vindication of Tacitus' authority.

1. *The Ancient Authorities.*

A. Tacitus:

Caesennius Paetus, when Vologeses, abandoning the plan of forcing the Syrian frontier, marches to fall upon him, is in his winter quarters in Armenia, on the hither side (from the Roman point of view) of Mount Taurus. (Cf. Ann. xv. 7. 23, 8. 1, 10. 1—4.)

He places a garrison of 3000 men "proximo Tauri iugo, quo transitum regis arcerent."

The Pannonian cavalry are stationed "in parte campi."

His wife and son with a small garrison are placed "castello cui Arsamosata nomen est."

Thus his forces are distributed instead of being concentrated. (xv. 10. 5, 6.)

Vologeses on approach thus finds "obsessa a Paeto itinera hinc peditatu inde equite."

He however drives the cavalry away and overwhelms the legionaries, viz. those blocking the pass over Taurus.

A few Roman wounded reach Paetus' camp: the unwounded fugitives seek "longinqua et avia."

It thus appears that the pass was not far away from Paetus' camp. (xv. 11.)

Vologeses, still advancing, presses the siege now of the legionary camp, now of the Arsamosata castellum. (xv. 13. 1.)

Paetus surrenders, though Corbulo is hurrying by forced marches from Syria to his aid via Commagene, Cappadocia, and so to Armenia. (xv. 12. 1 and 6.)

Upon surrender, Paetus

"flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem imposuit, specie sibi illud iter expedientis, sed Parthi quasi documentum victoriae iusserant: *namque iis usui fuit, nostri per diversum iere.*" (xv. 15. 1.)

The Parthian army entered the camp before the Romans evacuated it and jeered at the departing soldiery.

But Vologeses himself abstained from witnessing the evacuation by the vanquished. Then, this accomplished,

"flumen Arsaniam elephanto insidens, proximus quisque regem vi equorum perrupere, quia rumor incesserat pontem cessurum oneri dolo fabricantium: sed qui ingredi ausi sunt, validum et fidum intellexere." (xv. 15. 6.)

The inference here seems justified that the Parthians in order to get into the Roman camp had to cross the river Arsanias, over which the Romans at their bidding had built a bridge. The Romans do not use this bridge in their retreat, though this was a specious ground for its construction, but depart some other way.

At the time of the evacuation Corbulo was, as he himself stated, "neque se plus tridui itinere afuisse": i.e. he would have reached the camp on the third day following. (xv. 16. 1.)

Paetus flees with precipitance,

"una die quadraginta milium spatium emensum esse Paetum" and meets Corbulo "apud ripam Euphratis." (XV. 16. 3, 4.)

(1) Here again certain conclusions may be drawn. A quick march was 24 miles a day: an ordinary march 20 (Vegetius I. 9). "Quidquid addideris," says Vegetius, "iam cursus est, cuius spatium non potest definiri."

Corbulo however was marching "die noctuque" (XV. 12. 6.), and Corbulo under the circumstances would not have overestimated his distance from the camp. Rather the contrary. We may take it then that he was a good three days' march away from the camp on the day of its evacuation, i.e. a minimum of 65—70 Roman miles away, and probably a good deal more. On the other hand all the while Paetus is hurrying to meet him he is hurrying to meet Paetus. And they meet on the Euphrates at least 40 miles away from the camp and probably (so far as the language in XV. 16. 3 goes) more. The conclusion to be drawn as to distance then is that the Roman camp was distant from the place on the Euphrates where Corbulo and Paetus met at least 40 Roman miles away, and probably not more than 55. For thus we may suggest—

Day of evacuation—Corbulo 80 miles away.
Day after—Corbulo marches 25 miles nearer.
Paetus flees 40 miles to meet Corbulo.
Day after—Meeting of the two on the Euphrates 50 miles from the camp.

This of course is pure suggestion. But the inference, whatever our scheme, is a fair one, that the camp lay between 45 and 55 Roman miles away from the point where Corbulo met Paetus on the Euphrates.

(2) Where did Corbulo and Paetus meet?

Corbulo's march from Zeugma (= Birejik) on the Euphrates in Syria to rescue Paetus lay through Commagene and Cappadocia. The only possible crossings of the river into Armenia N. of Zeugma are in order Samsat, Malatia-Isoghli, and Keban-Maden. Samsat being in Commagene to suppose that he crossed here is inconsistent with his march through Cappadocia.

Naturally he would make for the main Malatia-Isoghli crossing in Cappadocia, as this would be a shorter route into Armenia than via Keban-Maden, wherever in Armenia Paetus' camp may have lain. Moreover that which is roughly called the Malatia crossing was always the great highway of communication from Cappadocia to the East, and the route followed, possibly by the Royal Road itself, certainly by invading army after invading army.

As too an army marching from Birejik to cross the river here at Isoghli would not touch the river at any previous point in its course we may conclude with certainty that Corbulo and Paetus met at the Isoghli crossing on the Euphrates.

The conclusions from the Tacitus narrative then are these:

(1) Paetus' camp lay between 45 and 55 Roman miles from the Isoghli crossing of the Euphrates;

(2) On a river, the river Arsanias, which probably the Parthians had to cross before entering the camp: i.e. with a river between it and the enemy;

(3) Near a pass over Taurus;

(4) And a plain.

(5) The Bridge over the river built by the Romans might have been from all appearances useful to them in their retreat. But as a matter of fact it was not used by them, as they went another way. But it was useful to the Parthians.

The second is tentative in so far as Tacitus does not expressly say that the bridge was useful to the Parthians for getting to the camp. But as he directly states that the bridge *was* useful to them and gives no further explanation (XV. 15. 1) this is the most probable supposition.

B. Dio:

Dio in this matter adds data of merit to the Tacitean.

ὁ δὲ Οὐολόγαισος τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις προσέμιξε, καὶ τὸν Παῖτον ἐπιβοηθήσαντα σφίσιν ἀπεώσατο. φεύγοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιδιώξας, τήν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐς Ῥάνδειαν πρὸς τῷ Ἀρσανίᾳ ποταμῷ οὖσαν κατέκλεισε.

Then Vologeses, after Paetus' surrender

ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς προδιομολογησάμενος ἵνα τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτῷ Ἀρσανίαν ζεύξωσιν· οὐχ ὅτι γεφύρας ἐδεῖτο (πεζῇ γὰρ αὐτὸν διεληλύθει) ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐνδείξηται σφίσιν ὅτι κρείττων αὐτῶν ἦν. ἀμέλει οὐδὲ τότε διὰ τοῦ ζεύγματος ἀνεχώρησεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον. (LXII. 21.)

This account adds to Tacitus the statements

(1) Paetus' camp on the Arsanias was at Rhandeia.

(2) The Bridge over the Arsanias was ordered for use by the Parthians for the Parthian withdrawal[1] from Rhandeia. But it was unnecessary as they had already before crossed the Arsanias—evidently to enter the camp.

This confirms the inference from the Tacitus narrative, or is Dio's own inference from it, that the Arsanias was taken as flowing between Paetus' camp and the Parthians who came from Mesopotamia over Taurus, i.e. from the South. And as Dio preserves the name of the camp, Rhandeia, which else is unknown, his statement as to the bridge and river need not necessarily be taken as simply his own inference from Tacitus, and thus as of no independent value, however closely his narrative of these campaigns elsewhere resembles the Tacitean.

The conclusion then from the Tacitus-Dio combination seems to be that Rhandeia lay on the further bank of a river—the Arsanias, which lay between it and an enemy coming from the South, hard by a "plain" and a pass over Taurus, and between 45 and 55 miles from the Isoghli crossing of the Euphrates. The Parthians have to cross the river to get to the camp, which they can do on horseback. The bridge which the Romans build primarily would serve the Parthians on withdrawing. But in their own retreat the Romans might have made use of it, but did not do so, since they retired some other way towards Isoghli.

C. Polybius:

Ξέρξου βασιλεύοντος πόλεως Ἁρμόσατα, ἣ κεῖται πρὸς τῷ

[1] It seems impossible to take ἀναχωρεῖν as meaning "to go up into the camp," although this would be simpler.

καλῷ πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ, μέσον Εὐφράτου καὶ Τίγριδος κ.τ.λ. (VIII. 23 (25) 1.)

I.e. Armosata—which presumably = Tacitus' Arsamosata—lies in the "Fair Plain between Euphrates and Tigris."

D. Ptolemy:

Describing Armenia Major he says

ἐν δὲ τῷ μεσημβρινωτέρῳ τμήματι, μεταξὺ μὲν Εὐφράτου καὶ τῶν Τίγριδος πηγῶν, ἥ τε Ἀνζιτηνή· καὶ ἡ ὑπ' αὐτὴν Θωσπῖτις, εἶτα ἡ Κοριαία· καὶ πόλεις ὁμοίως ἐν τούτῳ Ἡλέγερδα, Μαζάρα, Ἄνζιτα, Σόειτα, Βελκανία, Σελγία, Θωσπία, Κολχίς, Σιανάνα, Ἀρσαμόσατα, Κόρρα. (V. 12. p. 135.)

Some of these names are found in the Peutinger Table road: Mazara XVI. Colchis XIII. Coruihi XIIII. Arsinia VIIII. Coissa XVI.

E. Plutarch:

Lucullus marches for Artaxata from his base in Gordyene. En route lay τὸν Ἀρσανίαν ποταμὸν ὃν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαβατέον ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐπ' Ἀρταξάτων πορευομένοις. (Vit. Lucull. c. 31.)

F. Strabo:

Strabo mentions neither the Arsanias river nor Arsamosata. His lake—"Ἀρσηνή, ἣν καὶ Θωπῖτιν (? Θωνῖτιν) καλοῦσιν, which is νιτρῖτις, through which the Tigris runs, before εἰς βάραθρον ἐμπεσὼν and running long distance under ground before reappearing" (p. 529)—is almost certainly Lake Van, and Lake Arsissa, which Ptolemy distinguishes from Θωσπῖτις, is probably the N.E. portion of Lake Van—"in many respects a separate piece of water." (Cf. Tozer, 'Turkish Armenia,' pp. 296—7.) But this throws no light on the Arsanias-Arsamosata question. Only it must not be inferred that the name Tigris in antiquity was a name limited to the Bitlis Su to the exclusion of the Western branch—the Tigris of to-day.

G. Pliny:

(*a*) "Oppida celebrantur...in maiore [Armenia] Arsamo-

sata, Euphrati proximum, Tigri Carcathiocerta." (*Nat. Hist.* VI. 9. 26.)

(*b*) Of the Tigris:

"Tam vicinum Arsaniae fluere eum in regione Arrene Claudius Caesar auctor est, ut, cum intumuere, confluant, nec tamen misceantur, leviorque Arsanias innatet IV. M. ferme spatio, mox divisus in Euphraten mergatur." (Nat. Hist. VI. 27. 128.)

(*c*) Of the Euphrates:

"Oritur in praefectura Armeniae maioris Caranitide, ut prodidere ex iis qui proxume viderant, Domitius Corbulo in monte Aba, Licinius Mucianus sub radicibus montis quem Capoten appellat, supra Zimaram XII. M. P. initio Pyxurates nominatus. Fluit Derxenen primum, mox Anaiticam, Armeniae regiones a Cappadocia excludens. Dascusa abest a Zimara LXXV. M. P. inde navigatur Sartonam L. M. P. Melitenen Cappadociae LXXIV. M. P. Elegiam Armeniae X. M. P. acceptis fluminibus Lyco, Arsania, Arsano." (Nat. Hist. V. 24. 83, 84.)

Identifications:

Elegia ? = modern Isoghli.
Caranitis = Erzerum plateau, the modern Garin.
Mons Aba = Strabo's Abos—*ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης ῥεῖ καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης.* (p. 527.)
Derxene = Terdjan—Mamakhatun on the Kara Su.

There is no doubt then that the "Euphrates" in (*c*) is the Kara Su.

The Arsanias then is a tributary of—or flows into—the Kara Su, and its waters are very near those of the upper Tigris.

2. *Identifications.*

A. The River Arsanias:

From our ancient authorities it thus appears that the Arsanias river is a tributary of the Kara Su very near the waters of the upper Tigris, and that it was fordable. That

the disaster at Rhandeia took place in the early winter of A.D. 62 is a view to be definitely maintained on other grounds upon which it cannot be the province of this present paper to enter[1]. But it must here be taken for granted that the Arsanias was fordable at this season of the year. Yet that it was a considerable river seems implied both by Plutarch's and Pliny's mention of it.

Nipperdey (ad Tac. xv. 15. 6) suggests this was the Arsen or Ardjis which "falls into the Euphrates a little to the South of Melitene." But this river seems to have no existence save in Nipperdey's imagination.

Practically a unanimous consensus of opinion otherwise identifies the Arsanias with the Murad Su. (Cf. J. G. C. Anderson, 'Road System of E. Asia Minor,' J. H. S. xxii. (1897), p. 25; H. F. Tozer, 'Turkish Armenia,' p. 244.) In fact there seems no other river with which to identify it. The question of the fording is perhaps no very great difficulty. "At most times of the year," says Tozer, speaking of the Murad Su between Kharput and Palu (somewhere between which two places Rhandeia, according to our 45—55 miles datum, must have lain), "the stream cannot be forded" (loc. cit. p. 248). But at the end of August this traveller did cross it, apparently, to judge from his map, just above the point where the Peri Chai falls from the North into it, and here "the stream was clear and strong, though not deep, for it nowhere reached to our stirrups" (p. 249). It is possible the same state of the water might have obtained two months later.

So far everything seems to point to the fact of the identification of the Arsanias with the Murad Su.

B. Arsamosata:

A proposal was once made by Kiepert (Monatsber. Berl. Ak. 1873, p. 178) to identify Arsamosata with Kharput.

This seems however improbable on several grounds. More probably Pliny's Carcathiocerta is Kharput. And again to-day there is little in the way of our accepting a proposed identifica-

[1] For the date cf. my paper "The Chronology of the Wars in Armenia," *Classical Review*, June 1901.

tion of Arsamosata with a town which once existed on the South bank of the Murad Su just above the point where the Peri Chai flows into the main river, and from Kharput about one-fourth of the distance from Kharput to Palu.

This town's name, mentioned by various Arabian historians, was Shamsat, Shimsat, or Schimschat. "The fuller form of the name in Syrian authors, Arschimschat," says J. H. Mordtmann (Hermes xv. p. 292—3), "presents 'Arsamosata' in a well-nigh unaltered form. According to Abulfeda it lay between Amid (i.e. Diarbekr) and Churtbirt (i.e. Kharput) in the mountains and three days' journey from Amida, on the same river on which Churtbirt lies, which river later flows into the Euphrates. Ibn Haukal identifies Schimschat with Sumeisat = Samosata. But Abulfeda, Jaqût, Beladsori, and others clearly distinguish the two towns. In Jaqût's time the town was already desolate: on modern maps it fails to appear....Also in an Arabian account of an expedition of one Seifeddolah in 938 A.D. we hear of his besieging Burg Ziyâd (? = Kharput), and retreating thence to Schimschat on the Euphrates in the district of Chartabirt. The distinction between Schimschat and Kharput is here to be noticed."

The foregoing is Mordtmann's story. To describe Kharput as ex hyp. on the Murad is not very precise, it must be confessed. The three days' journey from Diarbekr suits well enough—as from Diarbekr to Kharput viâ Arghana and Burnus Khan is described as 31 hours' ride, which makes three long days' travelling for the c. 29 hours' ride to Schimschat—but is not impossible.

This identification is so far accepted to-day that on Mr Anderson's map (J. H. S. loc. cit.) Arsamosata is here inserted. "Arsamosata-Shamshat," he says (p. 25), "has been located by Mr Le Strange from the description of Ibn Serapion, who says, 'the Nahr Salkit (= Peri Tchai) falls into the Arsanas (Murad Tchai) one mile below the city of Shamsat near a mountain that is over the city and closes it in.' Combine this with Ptolemy's '*μεταξὺ Εὐφράτου καὶ τῶν Τίγριδος πηγῶν*...'*Αρσαμόσατα κ.τ.λ.*', and the inference is clear that the city is to be placed one mile from the junction of Peri Tchai and Murad

Tchai on the left (south) bank of the latter river. It formed at one time a Theme in the Byzantine Empire. ('Ασμοσάτου *θέμα*, Const. De Adm. Imp. p. 226)." And in a note: "The Theme of which Arsamosata was the central fortress apparently extended North of Murad Tchai (Arsanias)."

It can therefore be only misleading to differentiate the "oppidum" of Pliny and the "castellum" of Tacitus as two places of one and the same name. Everything seems so far to point to the fact of there being one fortified post, Arsamosata, which is to be identified with Schimschat, and placed on the S. bank of the Murad Su, one mile above its junction with the Peri Chai.

C. "Fair Plain":

Having the Arsamosata-Schimschat and Arsanias-Murad identifications, the "Fair Plain" and "Taurus-pass" are not hard to discover.

Vologeses marches from near the Syrian frontier at Birejik (Tacitus) from Tel Ermen (= Tigranocerta: cf. my former paper) intending according to Dio to fall upon Paetus, who is encamped ex hyp. on the Murad Su near Schimschat.

If we follow Dio it cannot be supposed that Paetus got very far on his way to the "relief" of Tigranocerta before the foe's approach drove him hurriedly back. It is however more probable that Dio's account is a confusion of the objective of Paetus' earlier raid with his movements on hearing of Vologeses' proposed counter stroke.

In any case Vologeses necessarily, making for the North whether from Birejik or Tel Ermen, must have marched through Diarbekr. And from Diarbekr to the Murad Su West of Palu only one route over the mountains is possible, that by Arghana Maden. In the reverse direction it is thus described:

"Descending from Kharput the road runs over its beautiful plain, dotted with Armenian villages, and then climbs to the head of the pass, 4520 feet, from the waters of the Euphrates to those of the Tigris. On the further side of the ridge lies the lake Geuljik, which has no outlet. On the hillside is Burnus Khan, where a road branches left to Palu and Mush.

The road now runs for some miles along a narrow gorge and then follows the valley of the Tigris to Arghana Maden." (Sir C. Wilson in Murray's Handbook, p. 265.)

(From Palu to Burnus Khan is eight hours by a good road (ib. p. 243).)

At Arghana the road "enters a very rough country, bare hills cut by almost perpendicular gorges" before debouching on the Diarbekr plain.

The distances given are

Kharput to	Burnus Khan .	7 hours'	ride.
	Arghana Maden .	8 „	
	Arghana . .	$3\frac{3}{4}$ „	
	Diarbekr . .	$12\frac{1}{4}$ „	

It is therefore certain that the Taurus-pass, blocked by Paetus' garrison, is the Arghana-pass. The "Fair Plain," where he stationed his cavalry, is the "beautiful plain" of Kharput in all probability, beyond the little river Bokydere, which enters the Murad from the South some miles to the East of the town. This little river probably helps to drain the Lake Göllds chik or Geuljik by subterranean streams. The stream now is largely used for irrigation purposes and thus has no great flow of water. "The fruitful district between Kowank, where I crossed the Bokydere, and Kharput might justly be called the Garden of Armenia; it is the most fruitful district I have seen in the neighbourhood." (Josef Wünsch, Die Quelle des westlichen Tigrisarmes und der See Göllds chik, ap. Mitth. der k. k. geog. Gesell. in Wien, 1885, Band XXVIII. p. 1—23: a report of a journey here in July 1883.)

3. *Conclusions.*

It remains then to compare our ancient data with our modern identifications.

The ancient data are:

Rhandeia lay c. 45—55 miles from Isoghli;
? near Arsamosata;
near the Taurus pass;

near the Fair plain;
on the Arsanias,
which flowed between it and the enemy coming from the South;
where the Arsanias was fordable.

The modern identifications are:

Arsamosata = Schimschat, 1 mile East of the Peri Chai-Murad junction.
Arsanias = Murad Su.
Taurus pass = Arghana pass.
Fair plain = Plain of Kharput.
The Murad is fordable in summer just by Schimschat.
Schimschat is c. 42 English miles from Isoghli = c. 46 Roman.

A site then for Rhandeia which chimes in with this entire scheme would be situated on the Northern bank of the Murad a short distance West of Arsamosata, facing the plain of Kharput over the river.

The only obstacles in the way of this view are two or three points of strategical-geographical nature.

(1) Paetus places the non-combatants in Arsamosata. Yet if this lay South of the Murad and his own camp North, they would be first exposed to any enemy's attack, instead of being covered by the main Roman position.

(2) The line of Roman communications with their base in Cappadocia necessarily ran over the Kharput plain to Isoghli. For there is no practicable route to Cappadocia North of the Murad. There is to-day a hilly route from Egin to Kharput, crossing the Kara Su near Sinjak (or Ghemiji), and the Murad at Pertek. But this would imply a base in Armenia Minor, and besides is a very inferior line of communication.

If then Rhandeia lay North of the Murad, this site, carefully chosen from the first for the Roman winter quarters, was of such a nature as to be immediately exposed to the risk of an entire severance of its communications with the Roman base in Cappadocia in the not improbable event of an attack from the South.

(3) The natural line for the Roman retreat was also along this its line of communications with Melitene. But for this ex hyp. the river must be crossed. But the Romans do not as a matter of fact use the bridge which they have to build over the river for their retreat. How then do they retreat—how get back to Cappadocia—how cross the river?

On these points it may be observed that the third is not of any weight. For "specie" the bridge would have been useful to the Romans in their retreat. This suits exactly the Northern bank site of the camp. And we may suppose that the army retired in disorder westwards along the North bank and got over as best it could, e.g. at Pertek.

A site for the camp on the South bank of the Murad undoubtedly would suit the first two considerations better. But tactically the "fortress," it may well have been considered, could look after itself. The Parthians were useless at siege operations. And again it was better for a Roman camp to have a river in its front than in its rear.

Thus there remain only the strategical consideration of the line of communications and a possible tactical question as well. If Paetus placed a garrison at Arghana and his cavalry in the Kharput plain, how were these in touch with his camp North of the river? For presumably if later the Romans had to build a bridge to the Southern bank, no such bridge existed when Paetus made these dispositions.

Yet considering the line of Roman communications this last supposition is almost incredible. We are driven perforce to the hypothesis that a bridge had existed and was destroyed on the Parthian successful advance.

Yet there is no hint of this in our ancient authorities.

There remains the strategical consideration. And there are two conclusions:

(1) That Paetus did not anticipate attack from the South and made no effort to guard his line of communications.

(2) That Paetus was generally incapable, choosing an immediate tactical advantage of a river in his front (and yet ex hyp. he did not expect attack!) in preference to the one

greatest of all strategical claims—the safeguarding of his lines of communication[1].

And if Paetus thus was so hopeless a commander he may even have thrown his garrison and cavalry across the river with no bridge to keep up their connection with the main body.

Thus the "Rhandeia" problem which at first promised, like that of Tigranocerta, to be a topographical one, in reality turns out to be a question of strategy and Paetus' ability as a commander.

Supposing that the fortress Arsamosata could be left to look after itself, a general choosing a site for winter quarters, whose sole line of communications with his base ran viâ Kharput, would be bound to select a spot guarding this from the risk of attack, i.e. on the plain of Kharput South of the Murad.

The sole justification for a choice of a site North of the Murad would be to secure an immediate tactical advantage in view of a very imminent attack, abandoning entirely for this purpose his connection with his base, because he may hope to be relieved by a new army advancing along this line. Were the possibility of attack long foreseen, he would not be justified in securing this solitary tactical advantage at the expense of the main strategical consideration.

Did Paetus then anticipate attack when before his autumn raid he chose a site North of the river? The ancient account seems to deny this. If this be so, if i.e. he did not anticipate attack, the one tactical justification for his choice of a site vanishes and he was guilty in a blind self-confidence of exposing his line of communication undefended to the chance of severance, with the consequences which actually ensued.

But if we suppose he did, as any decent general in his position was bound to do, conceive the possibility of attack, again his choice of a Northern position is indefensible, for the same reason. It is idle to suppose that no site guarding his communications on the Southern bank could have been found,

[1] This is justified only in an unexpected emergency. But Paetus chose the site for his camp deliberately long before. It is not as if he chose it, waiting relief from Corbulo.

and fortified carefully and adequately in the many months at his disposal, e.g. in the angle formed by the junction of the Bokydere and Murad, or at Kharput, &c. &c.

But from the first he selects and begins to fortify a site before his own autumn campaign the sole justification for which would be a sudden unforeseen *and unforeseeable* peril, necessitating his holding out as best he could until a relieving army forced its way to his assistance.

From every point of view, on every hypothesis, Paetus' incapacity as a general stands out glaringly marked. This result, it need hardly be said, is entirely consistent with Tacitus' general view of that commander. The important point is that by a purely topographical enquiry, such as Tacitus would never have conceived, we are compelled to the same conclusion.

For the historical-topographical evidence, ancient and modern, coincides with peculiar force to place Rhandeia North of the Murad. Only if we abandon this can we exonerate Paetus from the charge of strategical incapacity. We cannot abandon this.

Various suggestions in times ancient and modern were made that the Tacitus view of Paetus' folly as a general is coloured by his own prejudice, or by Corbulo's jealousy. It is argued that Vespasian did subsequently employ Paetus again as legatus of Syria. Liebenam however regards Vespasian's Paetus as son of Corbulo's rival, and this seems equally possible. The conclusion however to which we have been forced by the independent topographical enquiry into the site of Rhandeia seems to me to justify the Tacitus-Corbulo view entirely. Even if we endeavour to forget that Paetus added cowardice to indecision we cannot forget that that first crime in any general, strategical ignorance and incapacity, must inevitably be laid to his charge, unless we throw overboard altogether the results of our unbiassed topographical enquiry. And that I submit we are not justified in doing either because of a general suspicion of Tacitus or by reason of a sentimental desire to exonerate an incapable general.

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NOTE ON PROVERBS VII. 22.

It has long been acknowledged that the last words of this verse—וּכְעָקֹם אֶל־מוּסַר אָוִיל "and as an anklet (i.e. fetter) to the punishment of a fool"—present serious difficulties. The rendering of the LXX, which is reproduced by the Pĕshiṭṭā and the Targum, diverges widely from the Massoretic text, but how far the divergence is due to variants in the Hebrew and how far to guesses on the part of the Greek translator cannot be determined. In any case the LXX does not here supply us with a satisfactory reading, and accordingly most recent commentators have made a free use of conjecture. Perhaps the boldest emendation is that proposed by Professor Toy three years ago in the *International Critical Commentary*, where he suggests that we should read—וּכְעֵגֶל אֶל־מַרְבֵּק יוּבַל "as a calf that is led to the stall." Unfortunately the sense produced by these sweeping changes is not altogether in harmony with the context; if the "calf" is in parallelism with the "ox that goes to slaughter," it should be described as being led *from* the stall, not *to* it. It appears to me that with far less change—by means of a simple alteration in the vowel-points—a more plausible reading may be obtained, namely וּכְעַכֵּס אֶל־מוּסַר אָוִיל "and as a fool (i.e. a criminal) walks with clanking steps to punishment." For the construction of the sentence, compare Prov. i. 27, where a similar insertion between the infinitive and its subject occurs twice. As for the verb עָכַס, it is applied in Isaiah iii. 16 to women who make

their anklets (עֲכָסִים) rattle as they walk. In order to explain Prov. vii. 22, we need not assume that עֲכָסִים properly denoted "fetters"; it is more natural to suppose that the author, intending to cast ridicule upon the criminal, likens the clanking of the chains to the sound of womens' anklets, much as the Arabic poets, when they gloat over the sufferings of a captive enemy, describe the chains as "singing songs" to him (see *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* ed. of A. H. 1305, iii. 69 line 6, the *Kāmil* of al-Mubarrad 243 line 7).

A. A. BEVAN.

DARKNESS THE PRIVATION OF LIGHT, NIGHT THE ABSENCE OF DAY.

MILTON, *Paradise Regained*, IV 397—400.

> Darkness now rose,
> As daylight sunk, and brought in low'ring night,
> Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,
> Privation mere of light and absent day.

Whether any commentator has illustrated these lines I know not. John Mitford, certainly one of the ablest and most learned, passes them over in silence. A search in the schoolmen and in philosophers and divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would, I doubt not, bring many parallels to light. Meanwhile I offer what I have found.

Aristot. de anima II 7 p. 418b 18: *δοκεῖ δὲ τὸ φῶς ἐναντίον εἶναι τῷ σκότει· ἔστι δὲ τὸ σκότος στέρησις τῆς τοιαύτης ἕξεως ἐκ διαφανοῦς, ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡ τούτου παρουσία τὸ φῶς ἐστίν.*

id. de coloribus pr. p. 791b 2: *τὸ σκότος οὐ χρῶμα ἀλλὰ στέρησίς ἐστι φωτός.*

Basil hexaëm. hom. 2 4 pr. (I 15c Bened.): *τὸ γὰρ σκότος οὐχ ὡς πέφυκεν ἐξηγοῦνται ἀέρα τινὰ ἀφώτιστον ἢ τόπον ἐξ ἀντιφράξεως σώματος σκιαζόμενον ἢ ὅλως καθ' ὁποιανοῦν αἰτίαν τόπον φωτὸς ἐστερημένον, ἀλλὰ δύναμιν κακήν, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ κακόν.* c. 5 (p. 17b): *λέγομεν τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σκότος μὴ κατ' οὐσίαν ὑφεστηκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάθος εἶναι περὶ τὸν ἀέρα στερήσει φωτὸς ἐπιγιγνόμενον.*

Synes. calvit. encom. 11 fin.: *σκιὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερόν ἐστιν ἢ σκότος· ἑκατέρῳ γὰρ τῶν ὀνομάτων φωτὸς ἀπουσία σημαίνεται. ἐγγυτέρω δὲ προσιοῦσι καὶ ἁπτομένοις τοῦ πράγματος, ἴδοι τις*

ἂν καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν μεγίστην οὖσαν σκιάν, ἀντιφραττούσης ταῖς ἀκτῖσι τῆς γῆς.

Augustine contra epistulam Manichaei 30 § 33 (VIII 293[a] ed. Gaume): quamquam tenebrae non sunt corporeae, totumque hoc nomen lucis absentia est: sicut nuditas carere vestitu, et inanitas carere corporis plenitudine. Cf. ibid. 31 § 34 (p. 294d).

Idem de genesi contra Manichaeos I 4 § 7 (I 1050[c], cf. 9 § 15 p. 1055a): ubi lux non est, tenebrae sunt; non quia aliquid sunt tenebrae, sed ipsa lucis absentia tenebrae dicuntur. sicut silentium non aliqua res est, sed, ubi sonus non est, silentium dicitur.....sic tenebrae non aliquid sunt, sed, ubi lux non est, tenebrae dicuntur. Incorporated by Isidore in his cyclopaedia (XIII 10 12), and so passed into the common stock of the middle ages.

Idem confess. XII 3 (I 354[a]): *tenebrae erant super abyssum*; quid aliud quam lucis absentia? ubi enim lux esset, si esset, nisi superesset eminendo et illustrando? ubi ergo lux nondum erat, quid erat adesse tenebras, nisi abesse lucem?

Idem de civitate Dei XI 10 § 2 fin. (VII 451b): aer tenebrescit ista luce desertus (nam nihil sunt aliud quae dicuntur locorum quorumcumque corporalium tenebrae, quam aër carens luce). Cited in Italian in Tommaseo's great lexicon under 'tenebra'. Tommaseo also cites from the 'Dioptrica pratica di Carlo Antonio Manzini, Bologna, 1660': le tenebre dicono negazione o privazione totale di luce.

Augustine ibid. 22 (463c): cum omnino natura nulla sit malum, nomenque hoc non sit nisi privationis boni.

Idem de natura boni contra Manichaeos 15 fin. (VIII 779b): sic et lucida et obscura duo contraria dicuntur: habent tamen et obscura aliquid lucis, quo si penitus careant, ita sunt tenebrae lucis absentia, sicut silentium vocis absentia.

16 (779c): quae tamen etiam privationes rerum sic ordinantur in universitate naturae, ut sapienter considerantibus non indecenter vices suas habeant. nam et Deus, certa tempora et loca non illuminando, tenebras fecit tam decenter quam dies. si enim nos continendo vocem decenter interponimus in loquendo silentium, quanto magis ille quarumdam rerum privationes decenter facit, sicut rerum omnium perfectus artifex? unde et

in hymno trium puerorum etiam lux et tenebrae laudant Deum; id est, eius laudem in bene considerantium cordibus pariunt.

Idem contra adversarium legis et prophetarum I 5 § 7 (VIII 853d): non est ergo malum nisi privatio boni.

Idem contra Iulianum Pelagianum I 8 § 37 (X 949b): malitiam vero capit non participatione mali, sed privatione boni. ibid. 9 § 42 fin. (p. 954a): nihil aliud est malum, nisi privatio boni.

Julian in Augustine op. imperfect. contra Iulianum V 44 (X 2009d): illud tamen admoneo, solere etiam te in scriptis tuis tenebras non dicere creaturam, sed absentia luminis remanere obscuritatem; ut nihil aliud sit obtenebratio quam splendoris exclusio.

Augustine de genesi ad litteram imperfectus liber 5 § 25 (III 169a b): divisisse Deum inter lucem et tenebras, eo ipso quod lux facta est, oportet intellegi, quod aliud est lux, aliud illae privationes lucis, quas in contrariis tenebris ordinavit Deus. non enim Deum fecisse tenebras dictum est: quoniam species ipsas Deus fecit, non privationes, quae ad nihilum pertinent, unde ab artifice Deo facta sunt omnia; quas tamen ab eo ordinatas intellegimus, cum dicitur, *et divisit Deus inter lucem et tenebras*, ne vel ipsae privationes non haberent ordinem suum, Deo cuncta regente atque administrante cet.

See other examples of *privatio* in Marius Victorinus Afer de generatione divini verbi 4 bis, 5 ter (Migne VIII 1021c 1022a b), 11 fin. (1026c). Idem contra Arium IV 23 (1129d). This author, like his scurrilous contemporary, Lucifer (*nomen et omen*) of Cagliari, is a great coiner of words, few of which are known to lexicons.

Fulgent. Ruspens. de incarn. Filii Dei 32 (opera ed. Ven. 1742 p. 191 col. 1), arguing against the Manichees: ut enim de luce ac tenebris, quarum principaliter naturas putant esse contrarias, aliquid dicam: nonne primum in eo mendax illorum invenitur assertio, in quo tenebrae, quas luci naturaliter dicunt esse contrarias, nullam inveniuntur habere naturam? neque enim duae naturae sunt lux et tenebrae; sed ubi lux non est, ibi ipsa lucis absentia tenebrarum nomine nuncupatur; sicut

vocis absentia silentium dicitur, sicut vestimenti absentia nuditas appellatur.

The Testament of Love, book III: Lo! badde is nothing els, but absence or negative of gode, as derkenes is absence or negative of light. [This passage I owe to Richardson's excellent dictionary. See Urry's Chaucer, London 1721, 4to, p. 509 col. 2 pr.]

Calmet on Gen. I 4 (Latin translation, Augsburg, 1734 fol. I 5 col. 2): Lux qualitas est realis atque sensibilis, tenebrae vero nihil aliud sunt, quam lucis privatio vel absentia.

From the evidence, so far, it appears that the terms used by Milton come, like so many others, into modern usage from Augustine, who employs them (in more passages than I have cited) in his controversy with the Manicheans, who made darkness the creation of an evil god. There are no doubt earlier parallels from Greek philosophy than those which I have found; and there must be other missing links between Aristotle and Augustine.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

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